

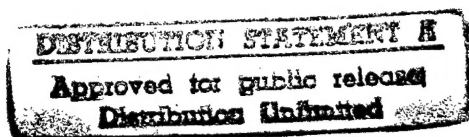
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JPRS-CPS-84-053

1 August 1984

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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1 August 1984

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SOVIET UNION

ARMY DAILY HITS SOVIET CHARGES ON SRV BORDER

OW231220 Beijing XINHUA in English 1143 GMT 23 Jun 84

[LIBERATION ARMY DAILY article: Who Is the Instigator, Backer of Conflict?"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Jun (XINHUA)--It is none other than Vietnamese authorities that have provoked the conflict along the Sino-Vietnamese border, says China's LIBERATION ARMY DAILY in a signed article today.

But, it says, in an article entitled "Who Has Incited Conflict" carried by the RED STAR, organ of the Soviet Defense Ministry, on June 17, the Soviet Union distorted the facts by describing the flagrant provocation by the Vietnamese troops along the Sino-Vietnamese border as an "armed provocation" by China. The Soviet paper even alleged that such an "increase in provocation" has to do with "Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping's visit to the United States."

The Chinese army daily points out that the purpose of the Soviet Union in calling white black in such a way is nothing but an attempt to cover up for the true instigator and supporter of the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict.

It says that it is none other than Vietnamese authorities that have provoked the Sino-Vietnamese border conflict.

Facts have shown that whenever it steps up its war in Kampuchea and invades Thai territories, Vietnam inevitably intensifies its armed provocations along the Chinese border with a view to diverting world attention, the paper adds.

At the end of March this year, it says, when the Vietnamese troops launched the sixth dry-season offensive in Kampuchea and invaded Thailand, its armed provocations against and invasion of China were also becoming more and more rampant.

The paper notes that the Vietnamese troops have frequently intruded into China's territories of Guangxi and Yunnan provinces, building military works, digging trenches, laying mines and shelling the Chinese territories there. All this caused heavy losses to houses and public facilities and death and injuries to hundreds of inhabitants along the Chinese border who were engaged in production.

Moreover, Vietnam's armed provocations against China have not been reduced but rather intensified, although its dry-season offensive in Kampuchea ended with the coming of the monsoon season.

Why are Vietnamese authorities so arrogant in its aggression against China? the paper asks. As the Vietnamese leaders confessed, they have the backing of the Soviet Union and thus "will not be defeated by China." This really explains why it dares to pit itself against one billion Chinese people. In the past five years or more, the paper notes, the Soviet Union has all along egged Vietnam on to invade Kampuchea and to make armed provocations on the Sino-Vietnamese border. For the same reason, the Vietnamese armed provocations along the Sino-Vietnamese border in the past two months have been undoubtedly incited and assisted by the Soviet Union.

Facts are most convincing. Last April, when Vietnam stepped up its provocations against China, the paper says, Soviet mass media cooked up 20 or more anti-China stories in a single month. In May, along with Vietnamese authorities' frenzied activities against China, the Soviet anti-China propaganda escalated. Apart from anti-China articles in the Soviet press, its official departments and mass organizations also came out to issue statements one after another in support of Vietnam. Since the beginning of June, when Vietnam has further intensified its aggression against China, the Soviet Union has raised a greater hue and cry against China. Soviet top leader Konstantin Chernenko went so far as to attack China directly. When meeting Vietnamese leaders Le Duan and Pham Van Dong on 11 June, he alleged that China had been engaged in "hostilities against" Vietnam and made it clear to them that it was his country's "constant policy" to give "full support" to Vietnam.

The paper says the Soviet support for Vietnam's anti-China activities, just as its support to Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, is given out of its own strategic consideration. In other words, in so doing, it seeks to make Vietnam a forward base to carry out its southward strategy in the Asian-Pacific region.

All this shows clearly that if it had not been for the Soviet support, the Vietnamese authorities simply could not have been so brazen in its outrages. This is something that the anti-China propaganda made by the Soviet paper RED STAR can hardly cover up, the Chinese army daily concludes.

CSO: 4000/409

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

### XINHUA VIEWS CHANGE IN CANADIAN LEADERSHIP

OW191914 Beijing XINHUA in English 1854 GMT 19 Jun 84

[News analysis by Gu Yaoming]

[Text] Ottawa, 18 Jun (XINHUA)--Former Finance Minister John Turner became leader of Canada's Liberal Party after defeating his main rival, Energy Minister Jean Chretien, at the party's recent convention, and will take over from Pierre Trudeau as the country's 17th prime minister in 2 weeks.

Turner's election is seen here as a reflection of the mood for change prevailing both within and outside the Liberal Party.

Trudeau, the outgoing prime minister, has made outstanding contributions in Canada's external relations, in repatriating the country's constitution, in maintaining national unity, in enacting the official languages act on bilingualism and in introducing more social welfare programs during his 16 years in office.

However, complaints are widespread about Trudeau's economic policies and his approach toward the relations between the federal government and the provinces and between the government and private enterprise.

Economic issues, in particular, have tormented the Trudeau administration. In late 1981, the Canadian economy plunged to a low point not seen since the post-war recession. The recovery, which started late last year, is crawling, with no sign of an immediate solution to the 11.7 percent unemployment rate, one of the highest of the seven most industrialized Western nations. This predicament was compounded by the 30-billion-Canadian-dollar budget deficits.

The monotony of the Liberal Party's 20-year rule was another factor in the party's declining popularity under Trudeau even within the party, members were eager for a new face who could come up with fresh policies and reorganize the party so that the liberals' tarnished prestige could be revived. [sentence as received] It was against this background that Turner beat his six rivals on the weekend to assume the leadership of the party.

After taking office in 2 weeks, Turner will announce the date for the general election, expected to be held in late October or the middle of November. The new party chief, however, is confronted with a series of problems to be solved before entering a general election campaign.

Turner's first urgent task is to patch up the rifts within the Liberals and rally the party behind him. Turner has stressed the need for reform and reorganization of the party while his rival Chretien, who still has great influence in the party, stood for the continuation of the tradition and policy of the Liberals. It is imperative for Turner to succeed in persuading Chretien and his faction to accept his ideas and support him as the single Liberal candidate in the general election.

Another headache lies in forming a new cabinet. In the race for the Liberal leadership, he repeatedly called for streamlining of the government and the civil service bureaucracy, but he now has to satisfy the demand for positions which will come from a crowd of followers, including 20 ministers and 40 parliamentarians, and to some extent, from his rivals. He must also offer more official posts to women, in line with one of his campaign promises.

The third task for the new Liberal leader will be to work out a thorough party platform, which should revamp Trudeau's policies without going too far to the right and which should take into account the interests both of those within the Liberal Party and of the voters as a whole.

The economic issue is now of the greatest concern to all Canadians. Worrying about the unstable and uneven economic recovery, people are pinning their hopes on a new and strong leader to emerge from the general election to bale the country out of its formidable economic plight.

At present, both the Liberal and the Conservative parties are warming up for a nationwide duel for power. Which party will win hinges on the policies they come up with to solve the current huge deficits, high unemployment and rising interest rates.

CSO: 4000/403

## WESTERN HEMISPHERE

### BRIEFS

U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS--Washington, 27 Jun (XINHUA)--The United States "would like to see a change" in Cuba's behavior before it will get to the question of exchange of ambassadors and a visit to the United States by Cuban President Fidel Castro, the State Department said today. U.S. Democratic presidential contender Jesse Jackson, who is currently on a visit to Cuba, proposed for an immediate exchange of ambassadors between the two countries, the restoration of diplomatic relations and a visit to the United States by Castro. Asked on the reaction of the State Department to Jackson's proposal, State Department spokesman John Hughes gave a cool answer by saying, "What we have to do is take into consideration Cuba's action." Hughes said the United States would like to see "some concrete examples of changing Cuban behavior." The United States and Cuba have not had full diplomatic relations since 1961. Interest sections were established both in Havana and Washington during the Carter administration. The relations between the two countries which are separated only by the Straits of Florida have been very tense since the 1960's. [Text] [OW280804 Beijing XINHUA in English 0748 GMT 28 Jun 84]

U.S., NICARAGUA 'SECRET' TALKS--Managua, 27 Jun (XINHUA)--Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Victor Hugo Tinoco Fouseca concluded on June 26 his secret talks with United States special envoy in Central America Harry Schlaudmann in Manzanillo, Mexico, Nicaraguan radio "Notice" reported today. According to the radio, the two sides discussed the proposals, put forward by Nicaraguan Government last year on mutual respect, the safeguarding of peace and security of Central America. During their talks, the two sides failed to narrow their differences on how to solve the Central American issues since each side insisted on its government's previous stand. But the two sides hoped to continue the contacts. An official radio "The Voice of Nicaragua" said the Nicaraguan representative noted after the talks that such contacts between the two countries bode well for the peace in Central America. But the U.S. special envoy kept silent about the talks before leaving. The two sides also announced after the talks that the next meeting will be held in the near future. [Text] [OW280814 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 28 Jun 84]

CSO: 4000/403

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

VICE CHAIRMAN OF CPPCC URGES UNITED FRONT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 May 84 p 3

[Article by staff reporter Ou Qinglin [2962 1987 2651]: "Vice-Chairman Xiao Hua [5135 5478] of CPPCC National Committee Discusses United Front Work"]

[Text] Coming straight to the point, Xiao Hua, vice chairman of the National CPPCC, declared to this reporter: "The united front was created by the CPPCC, and summarized and proposed by Chairman Mao. We relied on this talisman to overthrow the three big mountains in the past. Today, in pursuing the four modernizations construction, we need it even more in order to develop the intelligence and enthusiasm of 1 billion people."

Comrade Xiao Hua recalled an event in the past. When serving as the commander and political commissar of the advance column during the war with Japan, he came into contact with army commander Gao Shuxun of Shi Yousan's Kuomintang army group in northern Shanxi and performed united front work with him. When Gao Shuxun was surrounded by the Japanese, we sent troops to rescue him, and he was most grateful. Afterward we made friends with him and showed him respect. He found the Communist Party completely trustworthy. During the liberation war, with our party's repeated effort, he was the first to lead his troops in revolt in Handan. After the founding of the nation; we regularly saw each other. Not long before his death, he still discussed with us his views on building the four modernizations and unifying the fatherland.

"I cite this example for the purpose of explaining the issue. I personally have not done enough. As a vice chairman of the National CPPCC, I must make more contacts with figures outside the party and learn from them. The revolutionaries of the older generation cultivated and established fine traditions and styles for us. Premier Zhou was a model. He had the largest number of friends outside the party and was extremely sincere to them. Today the Party Central Committee is making an effort in all aspects, and such leading comrades as Hu Yaobang, Deputy Xiaoping and Elder sister Deng Yingchao serve as our models, carrying on and developing the glorious traditions and styles of the united front. We must serve as examples and do our work properly, so that the fine practices of political consultation, democratic supervision, cooperation, establishment of a wide circle of friends and self-education will be embodied in the work of all aspects."



## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SERIOUS ATTENTION GIVEN PROPOSALS MADE BY CPPCC

Bijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 May 84 p 4

[Article: "Many Party and Government Departments Earnestly Consider Proposals Made by CPPCC"]

[Text] Reporters Yu Guohou [0060 0948 0624] and Ou Qinglin [2962 1987 2651] report the following: After the first meeting of the Sixth CPPCC National Committee, the proposal work committee receive 1,084 proposals from the committee. All of them were examined and forwarded to the departments concerned for study and handling. By 5 May this year, the units in charge had acted on 85 percent of them.

Making proposals by its committee members is an important way for the CPPCC to develop its proprietary spirit, exercise its democratic rights and carry out democratic supervision. Respecting the CPPCC's democratic rights and in the spirit of being responsible to the people, many party and government departments earnestly considered its proposals and adopted many of its suggestions and opinions. Committee members Su Guansui [1121 0385 4840] and Hu Daoji [5170 6670 3444] both suggested that in addition to handling matters according to party discipline, the party members and cadres whose violations are of a serious nature should also be punished according to state law and requested that the two kinds of handling be explained in propaganda and reports. Finding the suggestion good after consideration, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission promptly contacted the central political and legal organs, firmly corrected the phenomenon found in certain departments of replacing political discipline and state law with party discipline in meeting out punishments and requested the propaganda branch to give attention to the issue in its propaganda and reporting. After studying committee member Zhu Jiqun's [2612 0644 5028] suggestion to give greater attention to the issue of the people's clothing styles and designs, the Ministry of Light Industry, after earnest consideration, said in its answering letter that to solve the issue, the ministry, in the past year or two, had held clothing design meetings and forums on creative design, stressed the training of clothing design personnel and produced more novel and elegant clothes popular with the masses; that the current work lagged far behind the people's demands; and that it would adopt their suggestions, strengthen coordination with the departments concerned and properly perform the work.

Due to their serious attention, more than 40 units, including the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the Ministry of Justice and the General Administration of Customs, have completed all the proposals assigned to them for handling. With larger numbers of proposals to be handled, the State Planning Commission, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Public Health, State Economic Commission and Ministry of Labor and Personnel, a total of 12 units, have completed 90 percent or more of their tasks.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### XINJIANG DEPUTY TO NPC ADVOCATES NATIONALITY UNITY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 84 p 1

[Article by staff reporter Shen Chun [3088 4783]: "Nationality Unity Is of the Utmost Importance -- An Interview with Wang Enmao, Deputy to the Sixth NPC"]

[Text] This reporter interviewed Wang Enmao [3769 1869 5399], Xinjiang deputy to the NPC and first secretary of the Xinjiang Uygur autonomous regional party committee, on the issue of how to strengthen nationality unity further in the course of hastening the economic and cultural construction of minority areas.

Wang Enmao declared that Xinjiang is a multinational autonomous region. Its 13 nationalities at the time of liberation have now increased to more than 40. Thus, in such a minority area as Xinjiang, nationality unity is of the greatest importance and the key to the success of the economic construction and all other tasks. In Xinjiang, without unity, there can be no political stability, nor the smooth progress of economic and cultural construction and all other tasks. Therefore, nationality unity is of the utmost importance.

He said that the situation of nationality unity in Xinjiang today is very good and the idea that the minorities and the Han people are interdependent on each other has struck root in the hearts of the people. He pointed out that to develop and build the region, both the self-reliance and diligence of all nationalities and aid from the state and the Han people are necessary. Without the Han people's aid in science and technology, manpower and material, it will be impossible to hasten the region's economic and cultural construction. Therefore, while vigorously training minority personnel, we must enthusiastically welcome the inland intellectuals to the region to help with the construction. He found that Xinjiang's large outflow of intellectuals in previous years was abnormal and that it caused losses to the region's various minorities and its economic and cultural construction.

How can nationality unity be reinforced and consolidated? Wang Enmao felt that the various minorities must mutually trust, respect, learn from, support and understand each other. Among them, mutual trust is the most important. He said that the misunderstandings between nationalities in history were created by the reactionary ruling class. After liberation, democratic reform

and socialist remodeling eliminated the exploiting system, class oppression and nationality discrimination and the various minorities built a new-model, socialist nationality relationship of equality, unity and mutual help and gradually dispelled the misunderstandings left from history. Naturally, it is impossible for all the contradictions to vanish overnight and quarreling may still occur, but it will be like contradictions between blood brothers which can be solved by persuasion and education. Labels must not be casually attached, because after all, the contradictions are among the people. Naturally, vestiges of Han chauvinism and local nationalism may still remain in the minds of a few people, but these also must be overcome by means of ideological education. He said that, as proved by practice, launching intensive education in the Marxist concept of nationality and the party's nationality policy, vigorously publicizing the good people and good deeds in nationality unity and handling the problems in minority relations with the method of solving the contradictions within the people are successful experiences.

Wang Enmao has worked in Xinjiang for more than 2 decades and has a true understanding of the various minorities. He said that according to his understanding of many years, most of the minority cadres and people are very good. They are devoted to the party, follow the socialist path, uphold the unity of the fatherland and closely cooperate with the Han people. We must fully trust and depend on them. This understanding and assessment must be kept in mind at all times.

In conclusion, Wang Enmao said that in the past decades, our party has trained more than 180,000 minority cadres in the region and recruited more than 200,000 minority party members, with many of them performing leadership functions at the various levels. Long educated by the party, these comrades have deep feelings for the party and value nationality unity. They are the core of the minorities. Once the core is united, nationality unity as a whole will be successful.

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CS0: 4005/608

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### DISCIPLINE INSPECTION WORK IN NORTH CHINA

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 8 May 84 p 4

[NCNA wire dated Beijing 7 May 1984: "While Introducing Experiences at the Discipline Inspection Forum of Eight North and Northeast China Provinces, Municipalities and Autonomous Regions, Zhang Bangying said: The Main Course in Effective Party Rectification is Investigation of Actual Cases, Rectification of Party Workstyle and Consolidation of Leading Bodies"]

[Text] At the forum on discipline inspection work of eight North and Northeast China provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities under the direct jurisdiction of the Central Government, held in Beijing on 29 March, Zhang Bhangying [1728 6721 2019], secretary of Shanxi's Yuncheng Prefecture CPC Committee, introduced experiences made last year in the work of rectifying party workstyle in the Yuncheng prefectural district, with the assistance of a work team from the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. Recently, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission transmitted Zhang Bangying's report with its endorsement to all provincial party committees and to party organizations at all central government departments and commissions, pointing out that although the experiences in the Yuncheng prefectural district concern an area where the party organization experienced particularly serious problems, party organizations in all districts and departments throughout the country may fruitfully take note of these experiences and gain much enlightenment from them.

Zhang Bangying headed his report: "Starting Out With an Investigation of Actual Cases, Consolidating the Leading Bodies and Raising Consciousness of Party Workstyle," and referred to certain events in January of 1982, when Zhang Ge [1728 2047], deputy secretary of the CPC committee of the said area, while investigating and dealing with cases of cadres, staff and workers having illegally built private houses, Zhang himself strictly adhering to principle and not allowing himself to be swayed by personal considerations, suffered repeated threats and attacks. Under the pseudonym of "Jiang Shihua" [homophonous with "speaking the truth"], someone wrote a threatening letter to Zhang Ge, trying to intimidate Zhang to "better stop this" and "leave yourself a way of escape." On 3 February 1983, in the dead of night, someone threw a brick through the window of Zhang Ge's dormitory. Eight days later, Dong Zhuye [5516 4554 0673] a cadre of the prefectural livestock bureau, went to Zhang Ge's place,

picked a quarrel and created a disturbance. On receipts of reports of these serious happenings, the leadership of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission took a serious view of the matter. In March last year, following a suggestion by comrade Huang Kecheng [7806 0344 6134] and by a decision of the standing committee of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, a work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission led by Liu Liying [0491 7787 5391], together with a work team of the provincial party committee, proceeded to Yuncheng Prefecture to investigate and deal with the case. They thoroughly investigated and quickly established all the facts of intimidation and acts of revenge against Zhang Ge and appropriately disposed of the case. At the same time they investigated and dealt with this case of threats and vengeance suffered by Zhang Ge, the work teams also helped the local party committee straighten out all misjudged cases. In Ruicheng County, Yang Yanju [2799 5333 5468], a teacher at a school run by the local people, was maltreated and abandoned by her husband, Zhang Lin [1728 2651]. While adjudicating this case, the chief judge of the Bonan district tribunal in that county, Wu Chaojun [0702 6389 0193], took advantage of her plight, and, misusing the powers of his office, made an attempt to rape Yang Yanju (unsuccessfully). The law court of Ruicheng County not only failed to decide in favor of the people, but on the contrary erroneously decided on a judgment of divorce. Yang Yanju repeatedly submitted hundreds of petitions to the party and administrative leading organs in the commune, the county, the prefecture and the law courts, but for 2 years no solution could be achieved in the case. The work team resolutely upheld the dignity of party discipline and our national law and detailed an investigation team which quickly found out all the details of the case. The intermediate people's court of the district retried the case, and the criminals received their due punishment.

In the course of investigating and dealing with these two cases, the work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the provincial and prefectural party committees came to realize the frightening extent to which the unhealthy tendencies in party workstyle have already infiltrated from the units that handle money and materials affairs into the vital departments in charge of administration, law, personnel affairs and party organization. Certain cadres have gone on from eating and taking more than their due share to ways of corruption and moral degeneration, lawbreaking and criminality. Certain cadres have lapsed from a misuse of the powers of office for private purposes to abandoning their correct standpoint and shielding criminals. According to statistics for the last few years, 1,468 cadres, staff and workers throughout the district have illegally built private houses, and among these, 71 were households of leading cadres of county and higher rank. Many cadres were involved in cases of embezzling state and commune property, in some instances valued at more than 10,000 yuan. Shocking events like these were a lesson to the leading comrades of the prefectural party committee, raising their consciousness in the investigation of cases and in asserting party workstyle. Finally, in a period of less than 1 year, since party rectification was taken in hand, starting out with an investigation of actual cases, 316 major and important cases were investigated and dealt with throughout the

district with the assistance of the work teams. At the same time, action was taken on up to 10,000 complaints submitted by the people, in writing or verbally.

When speaking on asserting party workstyle and on consolidating the leading groups in the prefectures and counties, Zhang Bangying also emphatically referred in his report to the problem of how to effectively hold democratic life meetings. The report said, the standing committee of the prefectural party committee, on the suggestion of the work team and with its assistance, took the initiative to call a democratic life meeting. The members of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and the leading comrades of the provincial party committee who participated in the meeting guided everyone to apply the criteria of party spirit and by closely centering on Zhang Ge's case of being threatened and suffering acts of revenge and Yang Yanju's case of maltreatment being dragged out endlessly, to learn to bring issues out into the open, expose problems, discuss understandings, analyse the causes and unify ideology. Everyone openly discussed the problems encountered by leading comrades of the prefectural party committee during their investigation of the cases, and in a serious and earnest manner, and with full confidence, launched criticism and self-criticism. This democratic life meeting resulted in the prefectural party committee changing its feeble, dispirited attitude from one of passivity to one of activity. On this foundation, the prefectural party committee called a democratic life meeting in the last week of November, inviting all leading party cadres in five groups, the party, the administration, the discipline inspection organization, the people's congresses and the political consultative assemblies of all 13 counties of the district to come together at the prefecture and engage in mutual criticism. With the direct help of the work team, the county party committee life meeting, guided by the spirit of the Second Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee and in accordance with the basic demands of party rectification, conscientiously and accurately launched criticism and self-criticism and thus solved the following four problems in an outstanding manner: 1) advanced one step further in solving the problem of preserving uniformity with the CPC Central Committee in political matters; 2) advanced one step further in understanding the importance of firmly preserving the system of democratic centralism; 3) demonstrated one step further the dangers of feeble and dispirited leading groups and the need for a thorough revitalization of our ideological roots; 4) solved very effectively the problem of misuse of powers of office for private purposes and effectively combined investigation with rectification.

The report also spoke of the efforts made in asserting party workstyle after the consolidation and readjustment in the leading groups of prefectural and county rank in Yuncheng. These efforts consisted in establishing a strict political study system and resolute endeavors to achieve uniformity with the CPC Central Committee in all political affairs; courageous handling of problems within the leading groups, and the investigation and proper disposal of cases of law and discipline violations among leading cadres; resolute support for the work of the discipline inspection commission and selecting strong and firm elements to compose the discipline inspection commissions at all levels. The report stated that within the last year, the work team of the Central Discipline

Inspection Commission and the provincial party committee performed much arduous and meticulous work in helping the Yungheng Prefecture straighten out party workstyle. They investigated and dealt with many major and important cases of great impact, checked a number of unhealthy tendencies which had evoked intense reactions among the masses, consolidated the leading groups at the prefectural and county levels, initiated a new phase in party workstyle rectification, and promoted the development of economic work and various undertakings, with the result that fresh changes are taking place in Yuncheng Prefecture, at the same time raising new hopes among the people. The work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission not only scored great success in rectifying party workstyle in Yuncheng Prefecture but also created fruitful experiences in the "investigation of actual cases, asserting party workstyle and consolidation of leading groups."

The report proceeded by discussing four aspects in the light of these experiences.

1. The "investigation of actual cases, assertion of party workstyle and consolidation of leading groups" constitute an important experience in the rectification of party workstyle. In situations where party workstyle has suffered disruptions, it is impossible to assert party workstyle in a general way. Only by means of investigating actual cases will the crucial reasons for the problem become apparent, can the crucial points of the cases be grasped and can a breakthrough be found to solve the problems, and only in this way can a penetrating education be applied to the numerous cadres and the masses, so that the party committees at all levels will become determined to assert party workstyle and will unceasingly expand the fruits of party workstyle rectification.
2. The "investigation of actual cases, the assertion of party workstyle and consolidation of leading groups" constitute a major way to effectively consolidate the party and to prevent perfunctoriness in party consolidation. Through the investigation of actual cases, the asserting of party workstyle and the consolidation of the leading groups, it becomes possible to expose problems experienced by party members at all levels in the implementation of the party's political line, principles and policies, to unite in a true solidarity the ideology and actions of the entire party and achieve the preservation of uniformity with the CPC Central Committee in ideological issues.
3. The "investigation of actual cases, assertion of party workstyle and consolidation of leading groups" are effective measures to strengthen the composition of leading groups at all levels. Wherever there are major and important cases, wherever there are cases laid up and left unattended, wherever important cases are mishandled, the situation is generally tied up with the leading group of that place. If it is not due to serious problems with the major personalities of the leading group, it may be due to their weakness and lax attitudes. Benign and uncontentious persons, indifferent to matters of principle, may be holding power but may have lost all fighting strength; and if that is not the case, then there may



be serious bureaucratism or those in office may not have the interests of the people at heart. Only through the investigation of actual cases, can the true facts and the character of those involved be made evident, the true features of the leading group be clearly manifested, and through conscientious consolidation, a staunch leading group with an honest and upright workstyle be established.

4. The "investigation of actual cases, assertion of party workstyle and consolidation of the leading groups" is an excellent way to strengthen and improve the relationship between party and masses. The investigation and proper disposal of major and important cases is a genuine demonstration of concern for the sufferings and hardship of the people, eliminating arbitrary tyranny, bringing peace to all good people and promoting justice. Acting in this manner will establish closer, mutually beneficial relations between party and masses and will more effectively bring the supervisory role of the masses over our party more effectively into play.

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CSO: 4005/638

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### YOUTH ALIENATION, 'SPIRITUAL POLLUTION' PROBLEMS REVIEWED

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 8 Jun 84 p 23

/Article by Peter Fasler: "No Future Behind the Bamboo Curtain: No Advance Possible Without Good Connections"/

/Text/ Deng Xiaoping's modernization program has irritated the young generation. Peking is countering their desire for freedom with very strict moral demands.

The two are hunched over a wobbly table in the middle of the fabric shop in Chongqing and rapidly chopstick the noodles into their mouths but still find time between each bite to hurl all manner of insults at one another. "You lazy dog," she gripes. "You miserable slut," he mutters. The combatants are about 18 years old and are fussing about who is going to wait on the customer who has just come in. We have here the good-for-nothing, stubborn generation a la Chinese. The two service-shy young socialists each earn around 35 yuan per month (about 50 marks) whether they work a lot, a little, or sometimes not at all. The helmsmen of the economy in Peking are in fact now taking steps against the inefficiency at the workplace brought on by the uniform wage by means of a bonus system which provides a basis for effective job performance. Yet this measure, furnishing the hard worker at least a material incentive, has a long way to go yet to affect all areas of the Chinese workworld.

The problem is deeper than this though. For the disagreement between the two squabblers is not only an expression of laziness but also a symptom of the identity crisis plaguing Chinese society. A "spiritual pollution," as it is termed officially, is stalking the country. The authoritative diagnosis places the blame for this primarily on the Western influences infecting China in the course of its opening up. This openingup is supposed to allow the giant empire to become competitive economically with the West by means of Western assistance in the form of, for instance, tourism or the importing of modern technology and capitalist know-how.

#### Privately and On the Job--Stubborn Good-for-nothing Losers

The leaders of the people naturally are trying to gain control over the side-effects of these imports endangering the sino-socialist system by mounting campaigns. In the drive against "spiritual pollution," for example, writers who appear too liberal must practice self-criticism in public.

The dress of adults--in the past several years was relieved by splashes of color, especially among women--is again paying increased tribute to collarless blue uniformity. The hairstyles, forced into permanent waves by throngs of women in larger cities, more and more frequently demonstrate uncompromising modesty. And, lest they succumb to the Western cancer of prosperity, Chinese who travel abroad are given curious manuals on etiquette with the admonition: "Be neat, comb your hair and always be polite."

But inner tensions as well are disrupting the homogeneity of the monolithic state. A U.S. diplomat who grew up in the Far East for the most part and has lived there except for brief intervals makes this judgment: "The big man in the background, Deng Xiaoping, is involved in a frantic balancing act. No one can foresee where it will end in the next few years."

Indeed, the great commitment of the people during the building of the communist state and then later during the Cultural Revolution and de-Maoization is a thing of the past. After common trials and tribulations, personal welfare has now assumed primacy. The party and army, too, are now experiencing problems in recruiting new blood owing to the depoliticizing of the people, who now no longer have a clear social goal in view. Coupled with this is the one-child-family decree, which goes against the grain of Chinese tradition. This as well weakens the adhesive which always in the past decisively contributed to the integrity of the community.

And so Marxist-Leninist China is being threatened by problems with the young generation that are similar to those of the West whose youth spurn the society based on achievement and consumption. The perception of the young people in China that there is no future can be traced not only to the uncertainty of the educators but also the bleak prospects for the future in one's personal life. The ponderous system makes professional advance a rarity--as it does any change. Once someone does a certain job, he usually does it his whole life long, meaning that he must go through the same motions throughout his life and endure the same surrounding. There also exists a kind of social dynamite that is unique. If the killing of female children--motivated by the decree to have only one child and by the traditional male-child cult--persists at the present rate, the population of China in the year 2000 will consist of one-third women and two-thirds men. In combating the "spiritual pollution" and the crimes it spawns, the Peking central government has resorted to brutal methods: an estimated 10,000 people have been executed since August of last year in a purge.

How to look after themselves is something that Chinese youth learn from earliest childhood, for the care of the young passes at least partially to the state even while they are still at their mother's breast. This begins with their stay in the day nurseries associated with the factories and farms and continues in the day schools.

For their children's meals in the day nurseries or at school, the parents pay between 5 and 20 yuan (about 7 to 30 marks). Simple workers earning around 50 yuan (about 75 marks) per month can afford only the cheapest alternative. Officials and military officers, who take home up to 120 yuan (about 180 marks), use the more plush childcare services and schools.

Lined up in neat rows of 10, the classmates of a primary school in Xian have just saluted the Chinese flag at the beginning of the school day with an inspired rendition of the national anthem. Then the party official, who is superior to the principal in the hierarchy, steps to the front of the group and quotes a few sayings from Mao-Tsetung, the former chairman now fetched back from oblivion. The official delivers outstanding sayings that he composed while not yet old but still wise. On finishing the lecture, the official explains why: "In old age, Mao-Tsetung committed grievous errors. Yet, as a younger man, he had ideas which are still relevant today for the progressive behavior of the masses."

The erstwhile great leader would not feel unmitigated joy, though, in seeing what changes has been wrought among his ancestral people, the peasants. The farmers have to turn over their produce to meet a contractually set target, but are allowed to dispose of their surplus at the more profitable free market. And this is causing increasing absenteeism at school as children are put into production by money-hungry parents where they can help to increase the harvest. The steadily ballooning prices that the parents must pay for the schooling of their offspring are not promoting enthusiasm for education either. The battle against illiteracy in the rural areas is meeting with difficulties.

Twelve-year-old Xing lives with two younger siblings and her parents about 100 km south of Xian in an agricultural region. Xing attends school only sporadically. She spends the majority of her time at work in the field--hard work that she must perform manually, for the extent of mechanization of agriculture in this area is nil.

A hard rain has fallen, and Xing is standing submerged to her knees in the marshy field as she cuts maize. With large sad eyes looking out from an emaciated face, she says: "I will probably never have a chance to get away from here. And I wanted so badly to be a saleswoman in a shop or something like that. But that is the fate of many children here in the village."

Added to the difficulties of promoting education in the country is the reluctance of many teachers to ply their pedagogical trade outside of larger settlements, since the opportunities for social contacts such as dating are better in the city. This results in a rural teacher shortage, large classes with pupils representing all grades and a correspondingly modest level of academic achievement.

The educational system runs more smoothly in the cities of China. Here, pupils have the advantage of instruction of a higher quality than that of their counterparts in the country simply by virtue of a greater number of teachers. This circumstance favors pupils in the city furthermore in gaining admission to universities. The government has plans to change this. The predominately achievement-oriented selection process is no longer sufficient by itself for admission as it was until recently. The selection criteria now also take into consideration the geographical origin and the ideological soundness of a prospective student. In order to redress the educational imbalance between the city and the country, the applicants from farming regions have an easier test to pass.

However, almost nothing runs in China without "guanxi" (connections). The university graduates are still often drawn from families of higher-ranking officials and military officers and other exponents of a society which, according to the constitution, is supposed to be classless. It is also largely only the well placed who can afford to send their children to the university due to the cost of tuition, housing and food.

Also, the universities in China are bursting at the seams. For this reason alone, broad-based admission to the university is out of the question. Approximately 350,000 new students were admitted last year; only 10th of those who sought admission to the temples of knowledge. For those 3.15 million who were not admitted, the future seems bleak. Yes, they might have finished high school, and there might indeed be many capable candidates among them, but they lack "guanxi." Most of them never find work.

These young people who are left out in the cold join the ever swelling ranks of "people waiting for a job," as the unemployed are listed in the jargon of the Chinese leadership. The fact that this list is populated largely by young people is confirmed indirectly by the latest mass executions in China. Many of those shot were in the lower age brackets and, as Chunshan, a high official from Nanking, expresses it, "became murderous thieves and burglars out of desperation about their inescapable situation."

Liu Fuzhi, the minister of public security in Peking, is certainly close to the mark when he attributes the rise in crime in the Middle Kingdom to three factors:

--bourgeois ideas and vices are exerting an undesirable influence on Chinese society;

--criminal behaviors are expressions of a continuing class struggle;

--egoism and anarchy are abiding testimony to the painful aftermath of the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976.

With his ideologically tinged assertion, the minister of security touches on a sore point in present-day Chinese life. During the wave of purges aimed at "spiritual pollution," around 30 percent of those arrested who were guilty of what is broadly defined as "economic crime" are said to be party members, including many officials.

Not without reason, for the role models of a population conditioned for life in a classless society and of youth in particular sometimes go around acting the part of little dictators. Especially in rural areas, they ply the art of gentle persuasion to gain additional material creature comforts. Then there are full-blown careerists from the armed forces or the party who travel to Shanghai together with their wives and chauffeurs to spend a fun-filled week playing tennis. Is this a classless society?

To this, Chunshan, the official from Nanking, replies: "I am aware that during the current campaign many officials have been arrested too. Perhaps it is

already too late. The young people have seen that not all Chinese are the same: there are Chinese and then there are Chinese."

#### Many Values Buried by the Cultural Revolution

It is also evident in the industrial plants that young people in the Far East--just as the no-future generation in the West--react to such abuses with passive resistance. An older mechanic who works at a factory in Chongqing complains: "The laziness of many young workers is hampering the production process. If this goes on, I'm not optimistic about modernization." That would be especially bad for the young, since industry is also the largest segment of economy in which young people can relatively freely learn an appealing trade. Agriculture, however, remains the most important branch of the Chinese economy.

Apathy among young people is likewise mirrored in the field of arts and crafts, art forms dating back thousands of years. This field is dominated almost exclusively by 50 to 70-year-old craftsmen who, like the intellectuals, were condemned to internal exile in out-of-the-way places during the Cultural Revolution and later retrieved for their skills. A stonemason has this to say: "Today's young men are hardly willing anymore to exercise the patience or to acquire the skill needed to produce a work of art." And a top functionary from Peking bemoans the fact that the "Cultural Revolution represented a break that retarded China by 20 years in the development of numerous things."

The race to catch up, which began in 1976 following the Cultural Revolution, is presently accelerating China's development at a rate that numbs the senses of adults, who are accustomed to all kinds of injustices, but above all of the young people. Strict morality and the limits imposed on the individual by a population of 1.1 billion further restrict the prospects of a young personality.

With that penchant for self-criticism characteristic of the Chinese, this high official looks into the future: "We older people must do everything we can to instill more the values of the true socialism in our youth again. We must not go down in history as failures." But when asked about the possibility of a repeated cultural revolution to bring Chinese society back into line, one of the official's fellow party members dismissed the idea, saying: "The young people should not be led astray again."

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CSO: 3620/357

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FENG MU REVIEWS ARTICLE ON CYL

Beijing WENYI BAO [LITERATURE AND ART JOURNAL] in Chinese No 5, May 84 pp 26-28

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668] written on 6 Apr 84: "Random Thoughts on the Article 'Melodious Song of the CYL'"]

[Text] There have always been various ways to understand the idea of happiness. To regard happiness as the satisfaction of having and enjoying desires goes, of course, without saying. Success and honor are generally considered to be happiness, and while this cannot be disputed, some people have used their own hands to develop another conception of happiness, showing mankind that happiness is sometimes found in the process of creation and struggle. As stated in the introduction to the reportage, "Melodious Song of the CYL" (KUNLUN No 2, 1984), this principle is, "Life is happy. But a happy life always belongs to those people who have the courage to progress and develop."

The significance of this is that "Melodious Song of the CYL" is really a fine work of literature promoting the progress of mankind, and I recommend it to the readers.

"Melodious Song of the CYL" is a new work in the field of reportage by Comrade He Jiesheng [6320 2212 3932], and its keynote is using the tapping of the fresh and bright colors of the times as the distinguishing feature. It is certainly not an over-statement to say that "Melodious Song of the CYL" is a tableau of the times concentrated on paper. The oldest generation of people who are living and struggling on the Jiangxi CYL wasteland reclamation farm are not young anymore, some 30 years of rough experience has enabled them to feel the pulse of the times, and this is the main substance provided us by the author's concise work.

In writing this piece of reportage, the author has stressed both realism and timeliness and also her own literary nature. Since reading this work and being repeatedly stimulated by it, I have wondered why I was moved and inspired by it. It was undoubtedly the people, the author's ability to writer about those real and lifelike people, the developers of those times encouraging and enlightening mankind.

The CYL wasteland reclamation farm party committee secretary and farm manager Jiang Zhongping [5592 0112 1627] is the admirable and proud son of the times reproduced on paper by the author.

The work begins with the formation of the first group of wasteland reclamation teams in Shanghai in 1955 and their leaving for Jiuxian Mountain. I wondered if people would find this kind of chronological writing long and dull. But I was quickly attracted by the author's aptly pruned and vivid descriptions. The legends about Jiuxian Mountain mythology passed down from ancient times are of lasting value. Myths are being described here, yet the descriptions of real life are still done with meticulous care and flawless artistry. The 10 brothers join in trying to make pills of immortality and cultivating themselves according to Daoist doctrine, and when flying off into the air, since the youngest brother has not escaped from the secular world and cherishes the memory of its temptations, he is thus reborn as a fallen child stone. Is not this fantastic legend a portrayal of real life which provides food for thought? Just think, group after group of high-minded youth since the 1950's have voluntarily begun to climb Jiuxian Mountain to reclaim wasteland to eat in the wind and sleep in the dew, and to hack their way through difficulties; and is this not ultimately so that all of them can "become immortal"? Faced with famine, flood and various difficulties and hardships, many people flinch and beat the drum for retreat. Life of course is like a river with great waves dredging the sand. People with ideals, such as the story's Zhou Chengli [6650 2110 4539] and Tang Xiuying [3282 4423 5391] use their real actions to compose stirring songs of youth, just as the way in which the work answers the questions, "What is life? What is love? I believe that there will be light if there are hardships."

Is it not the author's meaning that the older generation of wasteland reclamation team members are "immortals"? Are not those drop-outs who give up halfway the discarded stones fallen from the air to the ground? Life is harsh but just, and honor and happiness never belong to people with transient enthusiasm. The significance of this is that "Melodious Song of the CYL" is a song with a philosophy of life.

Through the author's skill, the hero Jiang Zhongping lives an exciting life, and his entrance is not dull. Just as the CYL wasteland reclamation farm is faced with being drowned in disasters under the devastation of the agents of the "gang of four" and the equal coercion of natural and man-made calamities, Jiang Zhongping, at the crossroad of life, flashes forth the glory of this generation of youth. Facing floods which are drowning everything, he does not consider his own chances, but the over 700 mouths crying piteously for food!

Aspirations are often quite specific. His task being to drag up 30,000 brick tiles from the flood, and having to "dive" several times to bring up just ore, Jiang Zhongping uses this kind of amazing willpower to lead his companions in rebuilding their homes. In order to stop a toothache, he uses sharp pliers to pull out the decayed tooth himself, and this truly takes an iron-boned, courageous man!

"The road can be forced through." This is Jiang Zhongping's pet phrase, and is also the author's brilliant language.



Some disasters are natural ones and these are indeed not difficult to overcome, but some come from having temporarily indulged in an ultra-"Left" line and the practice of repeatedly stopping or issuing one disruptive order after another. If wages are not paid, the young people do it themselves, and if the higher-ups do not handle it the wasteland reclamation team members handle it themselves. They believe their cause is correct and of benefit to the state and the people, and thus they are always pressing forward with indomitable will and are duty-bound not to turn back.

There are many lifelike descriptions of young people in this piece of reportage. The major reason for this is of course that the author is familiar with young people. She is not only familiar with the older generation of youth who are her age, but also maintains close ideological ties with today's youth. She likes to write calmly during action, and conversely to write about action during calm, and examples of this can be seen throughout "Melodious Song of the CYL." For instance, the part about the wasteland reclamation farm's veteran founder Yu Weizhong [0060 4850 1813] selling his old house in Shanghai for the low price of 100 yuan, and his mother and 2 younger brothers receiving the farm to show their determination to die together for the farm, was written very brilliantly. And again, the part about inviting the "high official" Duanmu Jiarong [4551 2606 1367 2827] to run a feather cloth factory, and the section about the twice-retired old secretary Yu Shiguan [0151 0099 6034] returning again to the farm were also both written fairly and reasonably and were truly touching.

The author has abstracted a phrase called "CYL Style" from the CYL wasteland reclamation farm's militant achievements, and when reading this piece of reportage, this highly influential style will affect and inspire you from beginning to end.

All that glitters is not necessarily gold. If the converse sometimes also is true, then it must be admitted that some that do not glitter can be gold.

Another of the author's rather successful characters is the sketchily described Zhou Xianlan [0719 0103 5695]. She is the wife of the earthsaking farm developer Jiang Zhongping. As a typical Chinese woman, her character does not lack the traits of industriousness, tolerance, forbearance and virtue, yet she is certainly not trivial. She is magnanimous and devotes her whole life to her husband and to the cause of their common struggle. The matter of people praising heroes often arises in our lives, but while eulogizing heroes, the author also reminds us that we must not forget the wives of heroes and the powerful pillars of our cause, the millions of kindhearted and honest Chinese women.

There is a sentence in the work that goes like this: Mathematics is poetry. Mathematics naturally includes both positive and negative numbers and does not simply refer to ascending numbers. I feel that the author later adds the footnote to this sentence, "History will sometimes play cruel tricks, life is twisted into ridiculous situations, and faced with the simplest truth, people tend to hesitate." We have all experienced it, we have all undergone the tribulations which the developers of the CYL wasteland reclamation farm have experienced, we have understood the pioneering hardships from their history,

and we have also recognized the greater difficulty of safeguarding the heritage. But it is still sad that the successors only safeguard the heritage. The CYL style is to always develop. This point has been deeply impressed upon us by the wasteland reclamation team members.

Gao Erji [7559 1422 1015] has expounded this viewpoint. "The goal of literature is to struggle with the conformists among mankind and to be good at finding good things in people; to arouse shame, anger and heroism in people's hearts; and to consider all ways to enable people to become noble-minded and powerful and to be able to inspire their own lives with a spirit of sacredness and beauty."

Through using Gao Erji's yardstick to judge "Melodious Song of the CYL," its merits are obvious. No literary and art works are merely to allow the author to be intoxicated with self-satisfaction or to be complacent with self-development and self-appreciation, but they are the product of social life and it is unavoidable that they must have some influence on people. Are there any young people who have not had a crisis of faith? Are there any comrades who have not worried that this generation of youth will only seek pleasure? Reading "Melodious Song of the CYL" will dispel many unnecessary misgivings. The rear waves of the Yangtze River push the forward ones, the times are progressing, and the main stream of our lives is generally good.

The author has broken fresh ground in placing approximately a thousand words of "free thoughts" at the end of the work, and this section adds a literary flavor of vitality and romanticism to the whole work. They are certainly not like water without a source or a tree without roots, but are the author's judgements derived from considering a large number of living sources, and are an authentic forecast for our future.

I am of course certainly not saying that this reportage is perfect. Yet this work has caused me to profoundly believe that the author has a deep love for life, that she has maintained close relations with many young people, and that she understands their happiness and worries. I also profoundly believe that she will present to us a more magnificent life picture of the youth of this age in more new works in the future.

12267

CSO: 4005/664

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PATRIOTISM, PROLETARIAN PATRIOTISM ANALYZED

Tianjin TIANJIN SHIDA XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF TIANJIN TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY] in Chinese  
No 2, 20 Apr 84 pp 1-5

[Article by Liang Yuxiang [2733 4416 4382]: "Some Theoretical Matters Concerning Patriotism"]

[Text] Ever since the Propaganda Department and the Policy Research Office of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party issued the "Opinions on Strengthening Patriotic Propaganda and Education," a new patriotic fervor is rising among the young people and the country's various nationalities, heightening their ardent love for their fatherland and their devotion to its prosperity and strengthening. To further increase the public's understanding of patriotism, broaden the development of patriotic education, and iron out some of the ideological issues now existing in patriotic education, it is necessary for us to study at length some of the theoretical questions relating to patriotism.

#### The Moral Significance of Patriotism

"Patriotism is a most intense feeling that one feels towards one's country, crystallized through thousands of years." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 608). Such feelings are manifested in one's love for the natural beauty of one's country, for its culture, people, history and fine traditions; in one's concern for its future and destiny; in one's unlimited loyalty to it and readiness to die for its independence, strength and prosperity; and in one's strong sense of national esteem, national pride and national confidence.

Patriotism stems from one's deepening understanding, generalization, and summation of the inter-dependence between man and his fatherland. In ancient times, as people settled down in a particular location, they naturally developed a strong love for that territory. As the people became a nationality and a nation, this love became better defined and matured into nationalism and patriotism. Owing to inter-nationality harmony, the nation-state further developed into a multi-national state. The concept of the fatherland evolves constantly over time. But the fatherland always remains the place where people live and reproduce generation after generation. Its existence and growth are the basis for the existence and growth of the individual. Its future and destiny are inextricably linked to those of the individual. As it stabilizes and deepens over time, the individual's independence on his

fatherland evolves into an intense affection for it that is passed on from one generation to the next, maturing all the while into a patriotic tradition.

Patriotic feelings and traditions, once created, in turn exercise considerable influence on human society. They regulate the relationship between the individual and his fatherland, maintain a close relationship between them, encourage the individual to contribute to the national interest, and inspire him to make the greatest personal sacrifice. With its long history and deep roots in social thinking and social psychology, the patriotic tradition can be understood and accepted by the broad masses of the people, irrespective of their nationalities, occupations, ages and ideological persuasions, and exerts a tremendous ideological, political and moral authority. This particular social function of patriotism makes it an objective requirement that society asks of an individual as well as a personal feeling. Patriotism, therefore, is a sacred moral obligation and a noble moral feeling. In other words, whether we realize it or not, as children of the fatherland, we are duty-bound and obligated to love, serve, and give our lives for our country. This mission and obligation can be elevated into a social moral standard embodying a basic demand on human behavior.

In man's moral growth, patriotism has always been a moral criterion by which we judge a person's thoughts and actions. Throughout history, national heroes and patriots have been highly extolled and fondly remembered in the hearts and minds of the broad masses of the people, in folklore, and in such literary genres as fiction and drama. They are admired for their abiding love for their country, their efforts to preserve its independence and unity, their bravery in resisting foreign aggression and oppression, and their self-sacrifices so that their country might prosper and be strong. From our history going back thousands of years, it is clear that the Chinese nation has a fine patriotic tradition which has survived the peaks and valleys in the nation's fortunes. As a powerful coagulant and centripetal force, our patriotic tradition has played an important part in the formation and growth of this multi-national country of ours and in preserving its independence and unity.

Patriotism is also an important standard of communist morality. It reflects the moral relationship that the citizen of a socialist country bears to his fatherland and embodies the basic demands of communist morality at the socialist stage. It is the noble moral duty of every son and daughter of the Chinese nation to keep up the glorious patriotic tradition of the Chinese people and to his or her utmost to unify the fatherland and achieve the "four modernizations."

To uphold the moral patriotic standard, we must criticize and overcome both national nihilism [min-zu xu-wu zhu-yi 3046 2469 5711 3541 0031 5030] and national xenophobia. Let us concentrate on the former at this point. National nihilism denotes a national inferiority complex, the assumption that anything foreign is good, and anything Chinese is bad. It also means servile and cringing behavior before foreigners and a loss of national esteem and confidence. This inferiority complex, a product of China's semi-colonial, semi-feudal society, has been the focus of vigorous mopping-up operations since Liberation. However, the lingering effects of the old society, plus our

mistakes, particularly one as serious as the "Great Cultural Revolution," have made our achievements less impressive than they could have been. Since the beginning of the open-door policy, some people have failed to place both China's past and present, and that of other countries, in the correct perspective so that once again, some people, particularly young people, are showing signs of a national inferiority complex. For instance, some say, "Our country is backward. What's so loveable about it?" This is a typical sign of the inferiority complex. With a recorded history going back almost four thousand years, China is one of the oldest civilizations in the world and was its leader for a long time, exercising a profound influence on it. Only the decadence of feudalism and the aggressions of the imperialists made us drop behind in modern times in such areas as economics, science and technology. By admitting our backwardness, we have demonstrated our determination to work hard to alter this situation. Under no circumstances should we dislike our fatherland on account of its backwardness. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, and with a superior socialist system, we firmly believe that our country has a bright future. We should carry on our glorious patriotic tradition and do our part to revitalize China. At a time when we open our doors to the outside world and emphasize learning from it, we must take great care to be analytical. On the one hand, we must seriously learn from the world all that which is advanced in such areas as science, technology, business operations and management. On the other hand, we must firmly resist and criticize any degenerate bourgeois ideology and way of life, eradicate and prevent spiritual pollution, and resolutely struggle against any instance of "worshipping foreign things and fawning on foreign powers" which entails a loss of personal and national dignity.

#### The Temporal and Class Nature of Patriotism and Its Universality

The substance and expressions of patriotism vary over time. "The concrete substance of patriotism depends on the historical conditions at the time." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 486) In the pre-Opium War feudal society, the patriotism of the Chinese people was mainly expressed in their fight against national oppression, their efforts to preserve national unity and integrity, their efforts to preserve national unity and integrity, their resistance to the fatuity, decadence, and exorbitant tax policies of the feudal ruling class, and their struggle for a strong and prosperous fatherland. In the semi-feudal, semi-colonial society after the Opium War, the patriotism of the Chinese people was shown, externally, in their opposition to imperialist aggression, and their efforts to protect the independence and territorial integrity of China; and, internally, in their resistance to the reactionary ruling class which colluded with the foreign powers and sold out their country's sovereignty and the people's interests, in their opposition to the feudal autocratic system which stood in the way of vitalizing the country, and in their struggle for a democratic, prosperous and powerful China. Since the establishment of New China, with political power being restored to the people, patriotism is seen in the people's love for the socialist fatherland, in their struggle to safeguard the nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and in their efforts to transform a poor, backward land into a thriving and prosperous nation as rapidly as possible. Today, China is in a great new historic era. During this era, we show our patriotism by a concerted effort to

unify the country and bring about the "four modernizations." As a result, people of the various nationalities, including compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas Chinese, all are considered patriots if they work towards these goals through practical actions.

In a class society, the substance of patriotism varies with class. The slave-owner demanded absolute loyalty towards the slave-owning nation; this was what patriotism meant to him. The feudal land-owning class, in order to preserve the feudal political order, advocated a kind of patriotism which was in fact a love for a particular household. During the bourgeois revolutionary era, patriotism served the bourgeois cause of anti-feudalism, helping them seize power and consolidate their regime. History shows that the patriotism preached by an exploiting class only has limited progressive functions due to the narrow class interests of the bourgeoisie. There have been some individuals within an exploiting class who, for various reasons, particularly in response to the appeal of the patriotic tradition, have shown a fierce patriotism, standing side by side with the people to resist foreign aggression. History does not lack examples of such individuals. The patriotism of the laboring people, in contrast to that of the exploiting class, is steadfast and loyal. Laboring people are the backbone of the nation, on whose shoulders falls the brunt of the burden of resisting aggression and ensuring the independence and prosperity of the fatherland. In the past, the laboring people did not run the country and lacked the guidance of scientific theories and the leadership of a progressive political party. Consequently, their patriotism was often stifled, suppressed and exploited by the ruling class, denied a chance for normal growth.

Patriotism is a function of time and class, but it also has some degree of universality. That is, although patriotism varies over time and from class to class, it has some constant features and values which transcend both time and class, such as the desire to preserve the fatherland's independence and integrity, to resist foreign oppression, and the aspiration to make the country powerful and wealthy. The Chinese people's common interests form the material basis for the universal aspects of patriotism. In a class society, the several classes have clashing interests and opposing thoughts and feelings. However, when all is said and done, they all live in the same area, speak the same languages, and share a common historical cultural tradition. As a result, they come to share certain common interests in some ways and to some extents. National interests are a crystallized expression of such common interests. Patriotism derives its practical strength from the fact that the personal interests of each member in a nation or nationality are directly affected by the strength of the nation, by its cultural standard, and by its territorial integrity. Only this fact has made patriotism widely acceptable to different segments of society, exerting a broad and powerful appeal to all social classes and nationalities, transforming it into a most inspiring banner. And it is also because of this that patriotism has become a historic tradition to be passed on from generation to generation over thousands of years.

Historically, patriotism was directly linked to the national struggle; as the struggle reached its peak, patriotism also achieved its most intensive expression. Therefore, any study of how patriotism is related to time and



class and of its universality must also consider the various impacts of the national struggle on patriotism. In the history of the formation of our multinational state, unity remained the mainstream. But there were always reactionary rulers in some nationalities who, out of greed and ambition, never stopped stirring up inter-national discord and attacking other nationalities, creating disintegration, unrest and uprisings, and destroying international harmony and the country's unity. Under these circumstances, it was a patriotic act on the part of the oppressed nationalities to valiantly resist the oppressors. On the other hand, it was also patriotic for the central authorities to resist, conquer and punish the rulers of a nationality who incited the people to rebel, threatening the unity of the fatherland. In short, although all the internal national struggles in China's history involved various Chinese nationalities, we must distinguish between those that were just and those that were not. Just as the nature and substance of a national conflict vary with historical conditions, so do the nature and substance of patriotism.

Investigating the universality of patriotism and how patriotism varies with class and time has practical implications for the present effort to strengthen patriotic education. On the one hand, it makes us realize that proletarian patriotism is related to patriotism of the historical variety and inspires us to carry on this fine tradition. On the other hand, it also enables us to see that proletarian patriotism differs intrinsically from historical patriotism, prompting us to uphold the revolutionary and scientific nature of proletarian patriotism even more consciously. A number of young people presently are somewhat confused about the slogans put forward by the Central Committee of the Party, such as "Love the country like one family," and "There is no 'first' and 'last' in loving our country." Their confusion stems from their failure to recognize the time and class nature of patriotism and its universality. Do these slogans transcend class? We think the slogans are consistent with insisting on the class nature of patriotism. This is because under socialism, patriotism is based on the common ground shared by both personal interests and national interests. The interests of the proletariat and those of the broad masses of the people are identical. Any ideology or behavior that shows a love for the fatherland is in line with the proletarian interests. Therefore, the slogan "Love the country like one family" conforms to the principles of proletarian patriotism. It also fully demonstrates the universality of patriotism.

#### The Main Characteristics of Proletarian Patriotism

As they waged the long revolutionary struggle, the proletariat also carried on and deepened the historical patriotic tradition which was the fountainhead of proletarian patriotism. After the proletariat seized power, proletarian patriotism was further consolidated and enriched and entered a brand-new historic stage at the same time that socialist revolution and construction developed. Compared to patriotism of the past, proletarian patriotism has the following outstanding features:

1. Proletarian patriotism is a reflection of proletarian and mass interests. It is solidly based on the economic system of socialist public ownership.

Linked to the most progressive relations of production, the proletariat is the most revolutionary, most progressive and most promising class. It is free from narrow class interests and its interests basically coincide with those of the fatherland and the people. Proletarian patriotism is therefore the most intense embodiment of the interests of the people, the aspirations of the nationalities, and the hopes of the country. It differs intrinsically from the patriotism of the exploiting classes in history. The proletariat and the communists love the country and struggle on its behalf not to establish a personal reputation, serve a certain emperor, or preserve a particular exploiting system, but to serve the entire national wholeheartedly. Hence they are the greatest, most faithful patriots in all human history.

2. Guided by the scientific ideology of Marxism, proletarian patriotism is related to the magnificent goal of building socialism and communism and has a clearly-defined political direction. In China's modern history, countless patriots have contributed tremendously to the salvation of the nation and the people. In the end, however, they always failed to liberate them from class and national oppression. One important reason is their lack of a correct guiding ideology. Armed with Marxism, and grasping the communist world outlook, the proletariat understands the objective laws of social development and has integrated its love for the fatherland with loyalty to the communist cause. Proceeding from loving one's country to loving socialism is a logical development for patriotism and is also a road taken by many progressive elements in modern times.

Some people think that one does not necessarily have to love the socialist system in order to love China. This idea of pitting patriotism against the love for socialism does not hold water. "Only socialism can save China" is an objective truth borne out repeatedly by all revolutionary and patriotic struggles in China's recent history, and is the inevitable result of the Chinese people's patriotic tradition. As a result, the patriotism of the modern Chinese people manifests itself in their ardent love not only for the great fatherland and the great Chinese people, but most importantly for the great socialist system. Because of the setbacks our socialist system has suffered, some people now doubt the superiority of the socialist system, losing confidence in the country's future, and many even think the country is no longer worthy of love. This mistaken interpretation results from a failure to scientifically analyze history and reality. To be sure, people differ in class, life experience, and cultural attainments, and we cannot demand all patriots today to become socialists or communists. But as long as a patriot identifies his destiny with that of the fatherland and is willing to contribute to it in his professional capacity, he has objectively done his part in promoting the socialist cause. This is true even though he has not firmly established a communist world outlook.

3. Proletarian patriotism is intimately related to proletarian internationalism. Only by liberating all mankind can the proletariat free itself in the end. This requires the proletariat and laboring people all over the world to unite and support one another as they fight for national liberation and oppose exploitation. To achieve the great communist cause, however, the proletariat in each country must first of all establish itself on its home front, and relying on



its efforts and those of the broad masses of the people successfully revolutionize and construct. Otherwise, all talk about supporting world revolution would be futile. Therefore, the proletariat and all revolutionaries must first and foremost be good patriots. It is the intrinsic attitude of proletarian patriotism to combine a whole-hearted patriotism with the great internationalism.

In its socialist revolution and construction, the Chinese proletariat has always upheld the principles of independence, self-determination and self-reliance, earning its success and overcoming innumerable hardships through its own efforts. At the same time, its success is also inseparable from the support given by the proletariat of the world and the peoples of various nations. For this reason, we have always closely associated our struggle with that of proletariat and oppressed peoples worldwide, making it our internationalist duty to support their liberation movements.

We should sustain this spirit in the future and strive to make even greater contributions to mankind. The achievement of the "four modernizations" is a noble internationalist as well as a noble patriotic duty.

4. Free from national prejudice, proletarian patriotism is firmly opposed to national oppression. "National unity, unity among the people, and unity among the nationalities are the basic guarantees for the success of our cause." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 363.) China is a large multinational socialist family. International unity is essential to the unification of the country, to political stability, national security, and the development of the economy and culture. In order to strengthen national unity, we must first bring about equality between the nationalities. As Lenin said, "National equality must be realized. Equal rights among the nationalities must be defined, promulgated and enforced. This is the only road to voluntary international intimacy and harmony." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 23, p 70) In a private-ownership society, national oppression is inevitable and national equality impossible. Under socialism, with the establishment of an economy based on public ownership, the basic interests of the various nationalities are one and the same. This similarity is the cornerstone for national equality. Proletarian patriotism demands that we firmly oppose all words and deeds which damage national equality and national unity, that we consider national issues from the heights of the laws of social development and in the entire context of socialist construction, instead of from a narrow nationalist perspective, and that we completely stamp out national prejudices bequeathed by history. Of course, for historical reasons, China's various nationalities have a patriotic obligation to help those who are more backward in various ways. Since Liberation, thanks to the party's correct policy on nationalities, all minority nationalities have improved their economic and educational standards, contributing to the fatherland's power and prosperity. We must implement the Party's nationalities policy even more effectively in the future and make international equality, mutual respect, mutual learning, and mutual help an important part of patriotic education.

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CSO: 4005/626

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SOLUTIONS PROPOSED FOR BUREAUCRATISM

Beijing BAN YUE TAN [SEMIMONTHLY TALKS] in Chinese No 9, 10 May 84 pp 34-36

[Article by political editorials office: "Oppose the Evil Habits of Bureaucratism"]

[Text] The Party Central Committee has pointed out its party rectification resolution that rectification of work style will be an important aspect of this party rectification, and that the existing problem of bureaucratism within the party should be resolved satisfactorily. In this regard, every member of the Communist Party, particularly those Communist Party members in positions of responsibility, should take the lead in focusing on and understanding clearly the dangers of bureaucratism, to resolutely eliminate this pernicious habit.

Currently, a number of our comrades still lack an understanding of the dangers of bureaucratism. Although they consider getting in by the back door, trying to establish personal relationships, and violating the law and discipline to be incorrect workstyles, they do not consider a little bureaucratism such a terrible method of work. There are also some comrades who feel bureaucratism is so ingrained now that to really resolve the problem is easier said than done. Obviously, if these ideas are not resolved, bureaucratism cannot be effectively eliminated, and the task of rectifying workstyles cannot be accomplished satisfactorily.

Naturally, bureaucratism as a problem of style and methods of work is not the same as seeking personal gains through one's high position, getting in by the back door, or trying to establish personal relationships. Ordinary bureaucratism is also different from violating the law and discipline. Still, as it was pointed out in the Party Central Committee party rectification resolution, bureaucratism and incorrect styles of work are basically the same. Both are unhealthy tendencies that undermine the prestige of the party, injure its image and weaken the faith of the masses inside and outside of the party in the superiority of the socialist system and the glorious future of communism. In reality, bureaucratism occurs frequently among our nation's organizations and leading cadres, posing a grave danger to the cause of the party and the people.

For example, being far removed from the masses and reality, losing contact with reality, shifting responsibility onto others when something comes up, and arguing back and forth, create significant economic losses. Two companies in the Jiangsu Province foreign trade organization were a typical case: because they argued ceaselessly, they allowed two boatloads of potatoes being transported to Hong Kong to rot and be dumped into the ocean. Originally, the two companies did business in the same building and their work relations were very casual. However, after the first boatload of potatoes being transported to Hong Kong went bad, the leaders of the two companies did not confer directly to investigate preventive measures, but argued back and forth over the telephone and in the end they let the second boatload generate heat and go bad on the way to Hong Kong. The two boatloads totaled over 1,590 tons of potatoes, all of which was dumped into the ocean, with a loss to China of over 660,000 yuan.

There are many other examples which were not so bad, but were still irresponsible, that caused trouble for the country and the people. On the evening of 31 July of last year, the biggest flood in 400 years occurred in Ankang County, Shaanxi Province, with a great loss of life and property. The explanation for such large losses was mainly that it was a natural disaster, but a certain responsibility also fell on some of the leaders at the Ankang waterworks. When they relaid underground water pipes, it was not done according to the project plans. They strengthened the flood prevention walls and embankments, leaving the newly filled-in underground water pipes and the old embankments to form "two skins." As a result, when the flood waters rushed toward Ankang, the water did not reach the top of the embankments, so at the places where their underground piping burst, a huge volume of water surged into the city, with serious consequences.

As the cases recounted above clearly demonstrate, bureaucratism constitutes a great danger to our cause. If we do not eliminate bureaucratism, there can be no hope for China's modernization, and it will be difficult to reach the strategic goal of establishing "the two civilizations."

Why is it that bureaucratism still arises under China's current socialist conditions? Its origins lie in ideological understanding and are related to existing evils in the cadre system. In the years of struggle, all party members and cadres knew that if they lost contact with the masses to the slightest extent, they would be unable to hold their ground or carry out their work, and they would be defeated. After the Communist Party seized state power throughout the country and became the ruling party, a portion of the party members and party cadres mistakenly relied on administration decrees and if they could get the job done just the same, it did not matter much if they maintained relations with the masses or not. As a result, they did not guard against the effect of old styles of work but gradually lost contact with reality and the masses. There were those who were even unwilling to continue as public servants of the people, but were content to act like overlords. This is a major source of bureaucratism. In addition, because of the lack of a rigorous and explicit system of responsibility in China's cadre system plus the cadre-for-life system, a number of people became cadres.

Because it was a secure job, it was all the same to them if they maintained contact with the masses or not, or if they worked well or poorly. This is one of the causes of the bureaucratism that exists within the party today. Thus, during this party rectification, we must be determined to work hard in every area to thoroughly eliminate bureaucratism.

First, each member of the Communist Party, particularly those party members in positions of leadership, must securely establish an attitude of wholeheartedly serving the people, and during the party rectification should get into closer contact with the masses and work hard for the benefit of the party and the people. Those comrades who are personally engaged in bureaucratic styles of work should, during party rectification schooling, engage in earnest criticism and self-criticism and sum up the lessons of the experience to correct themselves in earnest. As for those who seriously neglect their duty through bureaucratism, the necessary disciplinary action should be taken against them even to the extent of dismissing them from their posts and expelling them from the party.

Second, they should go deep into the realities of life, focusing on investigation and research, and take an interest in the masses' problems of living, work, and study, and in the development of production, systems of reform, and the establishment of a spiritual civilization. They should bravely shoulder responsibilities and heavy loads and should resolve problems independently without shifting responsibility onto others. They should not put off reporting to their supervisors they should resolutely eliminate and prevent regarding the party and the people's benefit as a trifling thing, and put an end to all irresponsible, perfunctory, and bad styles of work.

Third, they should link up and strengthen their avenues of contact with the masses. They should devote effort to developing their own creativity in work, and so long as it is for the benefit of the party's and the people's cause, they will come up with a lot of ideas and do a lot of things. With regard to those measures and institutions for the benefit or convenience of the people that are already in practice, as soon as they are decided on, they should be upheld and ceaselessly perfected and improved.

Fourth, they should rigorously plug up the loopholes in institutions and regulations that produce bureaucratism. We should give tremendous praise and support to those party members and cadres who maintain contact with the masses and do good work on behalf of the people. As for serious bureaucratism and those people who constitute a grave danger to the cause of the party and the people, we must deal with them strictly, investigating and affixing legal responsibility. Only by meting out rewards and punishments clearly and fairly can we get our cadres to earnestly carry out their duties and create the conditions for the elimination of bureaucratism.

Happily, during this period of party rectification, we have some departments, party members, and cadres who have already achieved very good results in overcoming bureaucratism. For example, the leading cadres in Shenyang and

Tianjin set up a special mayoral telephone line in order to be able to hear the voice of the people promptly. If the masses have any opinions or needs, they can report them directly to the leading cadres of their city through the mayoral telephone line, which everyone has welcomed. In another example, the leading cadres in Beijing, undergoing party rectification, worked hard to improve their styles of work. They engaged in on-the-spot work in districts and counties, where the majority of over 100 problems were to be found, of which a certain number were resolved on the spot. There are a great number of cases of this type in every locale. We believe that so long as all cadres and members of the Communist Party are determined to work hard together and undergo party rectification, the pernicious habit of bureaucratism can surely be eliminated and the party's fine workstyle be advanced another step.

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CSO: 4005/632

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### FEUERBACH'S HUMANISM VIEWED AS HARMFUL TO MARXIST PHILOSOPHY

Nanjing NANJING SHIDA XUEBAO /JOURNAL OF NANJING TEACHERS UNIVERSITY/ in Chinese No 1, 25 Feb 84 pp 8-12

/Article by Ning Xiaolan /1380 2400 5695/: "Marxism and Humanism"/

/Text/ When outlining the process of the development of Marx's thought, Lenin said that Marx proceeded from Hegel through Feuerbach to communism. In the 1840's, Feuerbach's humanism was a fighting materialism and the highest accomplishment of the materialism of that time. The early Marx was ideologically influenced by Feuerbach's humanism; but in 1845, after Marx had formed his own materialist historical outlook, he resolutely abandoned Feuerbach's humanism and thoroughly cleared away its past influence on him. However, in recent years some theoretical articles have not respected this historical fact and have abstractly discussed humanism, even looking upon it as a component part of Marxist philosophy. This obscures the demarcation line between historical materialism and idealism.

#### Feuerbach's Humanism

In opposing the philosophical struggle between religious theology and Hegel's idealism, Feuerbach put forward his own materialism. He thought that it was not God who had created man but man who had created God in his own image. There is nothing mysterious about religion; it is merely the finest things of people themselves, for example, noble ethics, uncommon intelligence, beautiful appearance, and sumptuous life, separated from man's person and embodied in concentrated form in the person of God. People created deities and afterward worshipped them, entrusting their destiny to them and obeying their control, and thus deities are a product of alienation, namely, "self-alienation from man's essence." In Feuerbach's view, the more man alienates his own properties the more of them he loses, and the more omnipotent God becomes the more powerless man becomes. The only way to remove this phenomenon of alienation is to return to man the love toward God and man's essence that has been alienated, so that man and his essence will be united and religion will then die out. That Feuerbach laid bare the secrets of God, put religion on a secular foundation and opposed theology and feudalism was, without a doubt, progress. This theory of alienation was the beginning of Marx's turn to materialism, and it exerted a definite influence on him.

Although Feuerbach made man the subject of alienation, he regarded man as the same as animals, as only being part of the natural world with only natural properties, and there were no real social properties of man. Besides his natural body and idealized friendship and love, man had nothing else. And the man whom Feuerbach was talking about was not a specific man, but an abstraction of the "human individual"--the "type"; the specific actual man was the alienated man, and only the "type," which was the representative of all of man's excellence, was the ideal man. Man should restore his own typical essence.

This "typical essence" man was regarded by Feuerbach as the object of his own philosophical study, and he called his own philosophy "humanist philosophy," that is, humanism. He emphatically pointed out that the man studied by humanism is not the abstract man that idealism talks about, but rather the actual, physical man. Actually, the man studied by Feuerbach was an abstracted man, the biological man, and could not be found in reality.

On the foundation of his humanism, Feuerbach also put forward the bourgeois ethical outlook of men's equal right to enjoy happiness and urged that people "impose rational self-restraint on themselves and treat others with love." In a society of class antagonisms, this was only an idle dream, and it would play the role of reconciling class contradictions. Therefore, in the realm of social history Feuerbach was still an idealist. Marxism maintains that man is the actual man of definite social relationships and is not the man who transcends history, time and a specific class. Man possesses social properties, and in a class society he possesses class properties. From this we can see the Feuerbach's humanism and Marxist philosophy are different in essence, and thus the attempt to make use of Feuerbach's humanism, which once caused it to land in a predicament, to explain and supplement Marxist theory was completely mistaken.

#### The Influence of Feuerbach's Humanism on Marx

At the beginning of his process of changing to historical materialism, Marx was once influenced by humanism. In his views on man, he borrowed Feuerbach's idea of the alienation of man's essence to explain social life, mankind's liberation and communist ideals. Even if this was the case, Marx greatly transcended and developed this idea. For example, in his "Introduction to 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law,'" Marx put forward the great historical mission of the proletariat. At that time, because Marx had not yet made a systematic study of political economics, when expounding on this question he did not proceed from the modes of production in capitalist society and did not start with an analysis of the proletariat's economic position in this society, but rather put his emphasis on expounding on the question from the angle of humanism, maintaining that man wants to make revolution because man has lost most of his humanity and the purpose of the revolution would be to restore man's nature. That is to say, it was only an explanation of the study of ethics and was not one of scientific historical materialism. When discussing the question of the liberation of the German proletariat, Marx pointed out: "The only actually possible liberation in Germany is to proceed from declaring the theory that the human personality is man's highest essence." The view that "the human personality is man's highest essence" was originally Feuerbach's



viewpoint in opposing religion. Marx applied this concept in explaining that the reactionary system in Germany caused men to suffer humiliation, bondage and oppression, and he thought that only by getting rid of all relationships that made man unable to be himself would it be possible to achieve the ideal of "the human personality being man's highest essence," and thus he came to a revolutionary conclusion. This obviously reflected the ideological relationship between Marx and Feuerbach. Marx's "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844" was an important work in the early development of Marx's thought. At this time, in his study of the historical mission of the proletariat, he had already begun to switch his demonstrations from ethics to economics, and it was the start of his change to historical materialism. However, in expounding on the propositions of communism this work likewise retained vestiges of Feuerbach's humanism. In his "Manuscripts" Marx maintained that communism "is the positive sublation of private property, namely, man's self-alienation. Thus it is through man and also for man, and the true possession of man's essence; therefore, it reverts to man's person to society's (namely, man's) man, and this reversion is complete, conscious and also one in which all the wealth developed in the past is preserved."

Viewing the above-mentioned explanation and demonstration by Marx, we see that he summed up all irrational phenomena in society as stemming from man's separation from his typical essence which gives rise to alienation, and the purpose of the historical mission of the proletariat and the realization of communism is to unite the specific and the typical. Without a doubt, this takes on a speculative coloring. Therefore, before Marx's materialist historical outlook had been put in its final form, to a great degree it still made Feuerbach's humanism its philosophical foundation. Although Marx mercilessly criticized the current system, he could neither guide actual movements nor scientifically predict the future. Only after Marx's materialist historical outlook was formed did he thoroughly abandon Feuerbach's humanism, scientifically expound man's essence and provide a true theoretical basis for the proletarian revolution. In the past several years, some theoretical articles, when advocating abstract humanism, said that they themselves were correctly explaining and propagating Marxism and drew on Marx's early works as grounds for their argument. Actually, no matter what the motive of the writers of these articles is, their effect is really to blur the distinction between the principles of Marxism and the principles of the bourgeois theory of human nature and humanism.

#### Change Toward the Real Man

Although Marx was influenced by Feuerbach's humanism, he began to stress man's specific social properties and to study the question of man on the basis of man's specific social properties. In his "Introduction to 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law,'" he pointed out: "Man is not an abstract thing that perches outside the world; man is man's world, is the state and the society." The deepening of Marx's understanding of man's social essence began with his inquiry into labor. In his "Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844," he pointed out: "Conscious living labor directly distinguishes man from the living activities of animals. Precisely because of this, man is a type of being." "The fact that he creates a world of objects through practice, that is, transforms the inorganic world, proves that man is a conscious being and



is this kind of being; it regards the type as its own essence, or that is to say, it regards the self as the type of being." In Marx's view, the type of being of man lies in his productive labor and is not a common natural product of his. Because he grasped man's fundamental characteristic, labor, Marx was able correctly to inquire into the relationships between man and society and between man and nature. Marx maintained that man's labor and consumption were social and that the individual could not exist in isolation apart from society. Man's existence is not predicated on his adaptation to nature but is predicated on his extracting material wealth from nature by transforming the natural world. Marx saw that the essential nature of social life was practice and insisted that labor was man's essential property, thereby taking a big step forward in understanding man's social nature.

Marx did not stop with this but further explored the labor process and brought to light the social relationships between men, thereby bringing about a fundamental change in his understanding of man's essence. In his "Manuscripts," Marx studied alienated labor, pointing out that man's labor not only produces the products of labor needed by society but also produces a relationship of antagonism between the worker and the capitalist. He said: "If the products of labor do not belong to the worker and become a kind of alien force antagonistic to the worker, then this can only be because the products belong to another person beside the worker. It is not a deity or the natural world, but only man himself who can become an alien force ruling man." Here, in rudimentary form, Marx had already expressed the basic principle of historical materialism, namely, that a certain production activity is basically bound to engender a certain productive relationship.

In 1845, in his "Theses on Feuerbach" Marx clearly put forward the famous thesis that man's essence "is the sum total of all his social relationships," thereby forming the scientific rule of Marxism concerning man's essence. It showed that in their practice of production people had to form certain production relationships, and on this foundation they gradually formed the family, society, class, the state, religion and other kinds of social relationships. In the sum total of these social relationships, the production relationship is the foundation, and the various kinds of social relationships affect and influence each other, comprise a united whole and also determine man's essence.

In a class society, social relationships are also expressed as class relationships, and man's essence indicates that Marx, in the formation of the basic ideas of historical materialism, not only differentiates between man and animal but also differentiates between men at different times and in different social strata. Not long afterward, Marx and Engels completed the book entitled "The German Ideology." This monumental work developed the arguments of the above-mentioned "Theses" into a complete system of historical materialism. By bringing to light the role of the material means of production in the development of the entire society, they further studied the relationship between the production forces and production and the movement of contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure, studied the struggle between the production forces and production and the movement of contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure and studied the struggle between the state and the classes, all of which in themselves are the embodiment of man's

relationships. When Marx found the starting point for historical materialism, namely, the conditions of material life, he resolutely abandoned Feuerbach's humanism and thoroughly criticized it. Marx pointed out: "To understand true men, we do not start with things that people talk about, imagine or assume, and we do not start with men who only exist in talk, thought or imagination. Our starting point is man's actual activities." He also said that historical materialism "is premised on man, but not on a certain kind of man who exists in a fantasy completely cut off from the world and lives in solitude, but man who under definite conditions is in a process of development that is being carried out, that is real and that can be observed through experience." Here Marx clearly stressed that if one wanted to study man, one had to study man's actual activities, man's material means of production and man's various social relationships. By studying man in separation from his social nature, Feuerbach could only land himself in historical idealism.

Marx's criticism of Feuerbach's humanism also "squared accounts" with Marx's own "past philosophical convictions." Just as Marx himself said, Feuerbach's concepts in some of Marx's works, such as "man's essence," "type" and so forth, gave German theoreticians an opportunity they could exploit to their own advantage, to such an extent that some people said the Marx's new world outlook was a "remake" of Feuerbach's theory. Therefore, Marx's criticism of Feuerbach's humanism was really a criticism of Marx's old philosophy. This showed that the development of Marx's thought had already passed from the immature stage to the mature stage.

Marx long ago thoroughly abandoned and sharply criticized humanism and scientifically demonstrated his own new world outlook. Today, some comrades in their practice do not uphold and develop Marx's scientific world outlook but rather want to backtrack and return to humanism. By this retrogression they will not be able to understand history scientifically and even less be able to understand reality scientifically, and it also endangers the revolutionary cause.

#### Humanism Cannot Return

In unfolding the history of philosophy, people will see that before the Marxist philosophy emerged, many philosophers had made man the starting point of their own philosophies and had paid extreme attention to the study of man. Feuerbach frankly called his own philosophy the "study of humanity." Utopian socialists exposed the cruel exploitation and oppression by the bourgeoisie and cursed capitalist society for not regarding man as man. There were also many philosophers who sought the ideal society in which there would be true equality, freedom and universal love. But this could only be the moral indignation from their study of ethics, and they could not correctly explain the objective laws governing the historical development of society and could not find the correct way to carry out revolution. That is to say, the theory of humanism could not guide the practical activities of the proletarian revolution.

Starting from the relationship between production forces and production and the movement of contradictions between the economic base and the superstructure, Marx and Engels studied capitalist society and brought to light the secret of

capitalist society--surplus value--and analyzed its basic contradiction--the contradiction between the socialization of production and the private ownership of the means of production. They pointed out that the acuteness of the basic contradiction of capitalism is bound to lead the class struggle to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this dictatorship in itself is only a transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. Thus, they established the theory of scientific socialism. Only this theory can guide the practical movement of the proletarian revolution.

The class essence of humanism serves the interests of the bourgeoisie. The ethics Feuerbach established on the foundation of humanism everywhere advocated abstract love; he thought that love was omnipotent, that it could create all miracles and that it could solve any difficulty in actual life. This kind of supraclass love could only obliterate class struggle and weaken the proletarian's revolutionary fighting will. Therefore, sharply criticizing Feuerbach, Engels said: "Such being the case, in the end the slightest revolutionary nature has vanished from his philosophy, and all that is left behind is an old tune: love one another! It mutually embraces without distinction the sexes and without distinction the social strata--everyone keeping on good terms at the expense of principle and drinking one's fill!"

Feuerbach's humanism was later used by Germany's "genuine socialists" to blunt the proletariat's revolutionary fighting will and to oppose the proletarian revolution. They thought that, provided there is consciousness of "man's essence," all social problems and all actual contradictions could be readily solved. They did not educate and organize the proletariat to carry out a struggle to overthrow the rule of capitalism, but rather wanted the proletariat to believe in the ethical sermons of the theory of human nature and to achieve liberation through social improvements. This played the reactionary role of defending the bourgeois role.

Today, bourgeois scholars in the West of all descriptions, and those people who flaunt the banner of Marxism to revise Marxism, are wild with joy about the concepts of humanism in the "Manuscripts" and think that the Marx of his youthful years surpasses the Marx of his older years, and thus it is necessary to unearth the "most profound humanitarian values and theoretical values" contained in the "Manuscripts" and with them overcome or reinterpret the "older Marx" and all of Marxism. Their purpose in doing so is to make the awakening of the liberation of human nature replace the arousing of the proletariat's class consciousness and to substitute abstract humanism for Marx's doctrine of class struggle and Lenin's doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Beginning in the 1950's, this trend of thought criticized what is called Stalin's "dictatorial autocracy" for not stressing human nature, then criticized the socialist system and afterward criticized Leninism. It is thus obvious that the advocacy by scholars in the contemporary West of supraclass, abstract humanitarianism meets the requirements of the bourgeoisie and is a political and ideological manifestation of the bourgeoisie's opposition to the proletariat. How can we not criticize it but, on the contrary, admire and flatter it?

The return of humanism not only is theoretically absurd but would also harm our country's cause of socialist revolution and construction. In our country,

after the abolition of the exploiting class as a class, class struggle will still exist within a certain scope for a long time, and under certain conditions it could be intensified. Since class struggle still exists within a certain scope, to talk abstractedly about humans, the theory of human nature and humanism can only weaken people's sense of class struggle and abolish the method of class analysis. Also, it would give the antisocialists in China and abroad an ideological weapon with which to attack the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist legal system, as if there were no need to struggle against those extremely vicious counterrevolutionaries and serious economic criminals and that all that counted were "human values" and "human nature." Not to grasp, control and deal with bad people and bad deeds is bound to harm the stable, united political situation and to sabotage the building of socialism.

Next, our is a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In speaking of the emancipation of the mind, we certainly cannot abolish the guidance of Marxism; in speaking of political democracy, we certainly cannot negate the party's leadership and the socialist system; and in speaking of freedom, we certainly cannot separate it from discipline and restraint. Not to stress socialism and communism while highly stressing humanism and propagating abstract equality, freedom and democracy is bound to attack the building of socialist spiritual civilization and to attack education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Thus, it will only be to the advantage of those people who violate the four basic principles and who practice bourgeois liberalism and anarchism and will do the utmost harm to the interests of the party and the people.

In brief, humanism cannot return. Humanism, in which there exists no Marxism, cannot be used to interpret and supplement the Marxist philosophy. This is our conclusion.

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CSO: 4005/655

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'ART OF USING CONNECTIONS' CONDEMNED

Beijing XUEXI YU YANJIU [STUDY AND RESEARCH] in Chinese No 5,  
5 May 84 pp 2-3

[Article by commentator of the journal]

[Text] As we reform the party, we must oppose "the art of using connections."

"The art of using connections" thrived during the ten years of domestic chaos. The saying "the power of three official seals can be exceeded by that of a local acquaintance" graphically describes "the art of using connections." This saying indicates that personal connections such as those among local acquaintances can be more helpful than government regulations in accomplishing objectives. Since the ten years of domestic chaos, "the art of using connections" has become a special "art form," an art form that involves illegal practices. There are "experts" in this art, and there are also those who have been forced into such practices. "The art of using connections" is employed in all aspects of our society, in public as well as private affairs, in solving personal and managerial problems, in seeking medical treatment and publishing articles, in buying and selling merchandise. In some agencies, "the art of using connections" has interfered with party internal affairs and even the granting of party membership. The influence and power of "the art of using connections" is felt almost everywhere.

The connections in "the art of using connections" are not those in the context of socialist equality or mutual cooperation; instead, they represent the kind of feudalistic associations among relatives, friends, acquaintances, neighbors, colleagues, and classmates. These are connections that aim at personal gain irrespective of right or wrong. "The art of using connections" is done for the betterment of narrow and personal interests rather than, and often in contrast to, national welfare. These connections involve returning favors with favors. If you make things easy for me, I'll make things easy for you. If you open a backdoor for me, I'll open a backdoor for you. If you give me foodstuffs, I'll repay with cloth goods. If you register my children, I'll let yours work in my organization, and so on and so forth. These connections refer to the kind of business relations between classes in capitalist societies--completely profit-oriented relations that involve exchanges of equal value." "The art of using connections" ignores party policies, principles, and even the laws of the state. Personal relations and individualism are its point of departure. The guiding principles in achieving objectives are: do not

offend anyone, do not rock the boat, and do not disturb existing practices. The most important thing is to maintain the kind of connections that benefit all parties involved. Individuals good at "the art of using connections" are described as "popular," are capable of winning support and can be successful in bureaucratic circles. "The art of using connections" is egoism of the shallow and the greedy, and it is in direct conflict with the superstructure and the interests of the socialist economy whose principle feature is public ownership.

"The art of using connections" has caused serious damage."

"The art of using connections" obstructs the normal channels through which objectives are accomplished; it interferes with the ordinary procedures of various projects. In some organizations the practice of "the art of using connections" is justified by the expression "all roads lead to Rome"; failure to practice the art results in delay and great difficulties in achieving objectives. The practice of "the art of using connections" prohibits socialist construction from proceeding according to schedule. The practice of "the art of using connections" has resulted in the obstruction of state planning because the supply of materials has gone through backdoors to illegal recipients, and state projects are therefore disrupted. Moreover, the practice of the "art of using connections" has unbalanced the national economy and resulted in heavy losses. This practice involves giving "households with connections" certain goods that are in short supply and certain commodities that require special tickets and permits to obtain. The general public, as a result are unable to purchase those commodities. The practice of "the art of using connections" involves allocating housing to those who do not deserve it, transferring agricultural households that should not be transferred to cities and towns, and employing those who are incompetent. These practices have disrupted party policies and have understandably led to public anger and damaged the relationship between the party and the people. Because the practice of "the art of using connections" does not recognize the distinction between right and wrong, it obstructs the process of self-examination, prevents human conflicts from being resolved, and even turns small problems into major ones. The practice of "the art of using connections" has gradually forced some decent people into criminal behavior because of greed. It has been abused by criminals in all kinds of unlawful dealings. And after their crimes have been exposed, they are sheltered again by the practice of "the art of using connections". In short, the practice of "the art of using connections" and "networks of connections" resulting from it generate abnormal, unsocialist connections that destroy and replace normal, socialist connections. These abnormal, unsocialist connections violate the policies and principles of the party, threaten the operation of practical work, and seriously damage the socialist spiritual civilization. Moreover, they violate the customs of the people and the party and weaken the party's ability to fight. The practice of "the art of using connections" has caused intensive and extensive damages that have to be fully acknowledged by us.

An ice sheet three feet in thickness takes more than one cold day to form. "The art of using connections" has been in full practice for some time. It has saturated many aspects of the system and formed "networks of connections" of all shapes and sizes. Many organizations and agencies are caught in these networks, and have formed a knot inside them. Some comrades have tried to dissolve these networks, but they were at a loss over what to do--just as Piggy was when caught in the giant spider web. They simply could not dissolve these networks and threw their hands in the air. They have concluded that since so many people practice "the art of using connections," the effort of one individual or one organization cannot be effective in eliminating these connections; only a united effort can do so. Indeed, to oppose and eliminate "networks of connections" is hard work. However, we cannot back off in the face of difficulties; instead, we should march forward. Communist Party members are needed precisely because it is hard work; and no work will be left unaccomplished precisely because Communist Party members are involved. Moreover, fighting the practice of "the art of using connections" cannot be carried out in the same fashion as troops rushing into combat at the sound of the trumpet. We cannot expect everyone in our society to act in uniformity. People were born with different levels of intelligence, and they grasp the same concepts at different times. A lot of work should be initiated by those with foresight and insight. Opposition to the practice of "the art of using connections" begins with a few progressive individuals and organizations. This will gradually form a powerful force that will destroy "the art of using connections."

To oppose the practice of "the art of using connections" we must begin by demanding that party policies and principles be observed strictly and that violators be punished. This will provide us with a fresh start. The mentality "you might as well take advantage of the power you have, for once it's gone, it's gone" is the foundation for "the art of using connections." The purpose of strictly observing party policies and principles is to prohibit the abuse of power for personal gain and consequently to dissolve the networks of connections. During this year's lunar New Year holiday, municipal commissars and governments issued strict orders concerning the supply of nonstaple foodstuffs. These orders have proven effective in prohibiting grants of special permission, using backdoors, and appropriating nonstaple foodstuffs for private purposes. These orders have assured the public the supply of nonstaple foodstuffs. This is a new beginning. If we keep abiding by these orders, it will not be difficult to terminate the practice of "the art of using connections."

As we oppose the existence of "the art of using connections" we should strengthen our programs in political ideology. In addition, we should actively eliminate the social conditions that give rise to "the art of using connections." During the ten years of domestic chaos, we made the mistake of stressing only class struggle and ignored economic work. As a result, production was halted or behind schedule and a lot of materials were in short supply. These factors, of course, were not the primary cause of "the art of using connections." However, they made the system especially vulnerable during the ten years of domestic chaos when there was great ideological confusion, and when people engaged in "tradings" using the materials they were in charge



of as their capital. Therefore, in order to liquidate "the art of using connections" we must actively increase the production of commodities and open up more channels for transactions so that there will not only be an abundance of merchandise but that all merchandise will be marketed. When there is an abundance of merchandise on the market, there will be no need for the public to seek "households with connections," and those in charge of merchandise will not be able to take advantage of shortages and engage in illegal transactions. Is this material determinism? No, it is not. It only means that if we want to oppose the practice of "the art of using connections" we should, in addition to successfully carrying out ideological work and other necessary projects, eliminate the very conditions that gave rise to "the art of using connections." This will make the campaign against "the art of using connections" even easier.

The fact that we oppose the practice of "the art of using connections" does not mean we oppose all kinds of connections. We cannot oppose socialist connections. Socialist connections are based upon public ownership and mutual interests; they are connections that involve relationships that are equal and mutually cooperative. They are connections that have the public interest as their overriding concern. These connections involve mutual assistance, mutual help, and mutual cooperation. They revolve around the law, state policies, regulations, systems, and moral standards. We only oppose connections that are of a feudalistic and personal nature. We desire connections that aim at founding, solidifying, and developing socialism and that improve public welfare. Therefore, at the present time, as we launch a campaign against "the art of using connections," we must carefully and strictly distinguish these two kinds of connections. We cannot blindly dissolve connections that are based upon socialism and public interest. We cannot dissolve connections that are inherent among comrades, relatives, friends, and teachers and students. If we do away with those connections, we will hinder socialist construction and damage the welfare of the party and the people.

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CSO: 4005/630



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LOCAL SUPPORT TO DEVELOP PLA HUMAN RESOURCES URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 May 84 p 5

[Text] Reporter Zeng Xiangping [2582 4382 1627] reports the following: At the group discussion of Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report, JIEFANGJUN BAO deputy director Lu Liang [0712 2733], deputy to the Sixth NPC, expressed the hope that local areas would invest in the PLA's human resources and vigorously train personnel for both military and civilian use.

He said that in recent years, more than 120,000 cadres in the army participated in higher education by studying on their own, 110,000 underwent rotational training at the senior and junior middle school levels and more than 1.7 million joined dual-purpose personnel study classes (groups), not only promoting the building of a modern army but also producing a definite impact on local economic construction. Among the specialized households and economic unions in Guangdong's Nanhai County, 23 percent of them are demobilized and discharged veterans and the per-capita income earned by them and their families exceeds that of the county by 200 percent or more.

Lu Liang maintained that to succeed in training personnel for both military and local use, "leftwing" influence must continue to be purged and bold reforms introduced in establishment and training, while relying on vigorous local support.

He hoped that the governments and educational units of the various levels will render support in manifold forms and measures, especially in teaching staff, equipment and locations, thereby hastening the popularization of intermediate education among the troops and cadres, gradually raising them to college level, training them in one or two special skills and enabling some of them to reach the intermediate single-course specialization level. As large groups of soldiers and cadres are discharged and transferred to other occupations every year, if this work is properly done, 15 to 20 million personnel with relatively good political qualities and a certain amount of scientific, cultural and technical knowledge will be provided to the localities by the year 2000.

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CSO: 4005/608

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### NEW TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 16, 16 Apr 84 pp 30-31

[Article by Zhang Jian [1728 0256] of China Institute of Educational Sciences]

[Text] There is now in the world another technological wave on the rise (some Western scholars have labelled it "the third wave" or "the fourth industrial revolution"). This is the wave of a highly concentrated form of knowledge and technology that enables production through sophisticated electronics, automatic equipment, machinery, and chemical and biological elements. Labor productivity has increased by from 10 to 100 times as a result and the social life of the people has been significantly affected. Education, which develops human intelligence and nurtures talent, must as a consequence meet new challenges. In other words, education faces a serious mission of reform worldwide. Its main trends and approaches may be summarized as follows:

1. Accelerate the popularization of secondary education and the development of higher education. In an age of technological revolution, production techniques are not based upon physical strength and manual labor, but rather upon knowledge and intelligence. This is why some scholars believe that "intelligence has become the determinant of productivity, competitiveness, and economic achievement." Statistics indicate that in the preliminary stage of industrialization, the ratio between physical labor and mental labor is nine to one; in the middle stage, six to four; and in the stage of full industrialization, one to nine.

A lot of scientists and educators think that the role of the steam engine (labelled by some scholars the first industrial revolution) and electrically operated machinery (labelled by some scholars the second industrial revolution) was primarily to liberate man from heavy physical labor. However, the new technological revolution represented by the computer (labelled by some scholars the third or fourth industrial revolution) has not only liberated man from physical labor, but also from a considerable amount of mental labor. Some scholars estimate that among the 4.8 billion people in the world today, about one billion live in countries and areas that are economically and technologically developed, and great changes have taken place in the structure of the labor force in these countries. In the United States, among the total employed population in 1977, the percentage of people who engaged in mental labor was 50.1%, an increase from 43.4% of 1960; in 1982, 900,000 college graduates, 300,000 Master's

degree holders, and 30,000 Ph.D.s joined the work force. In the Federal Republic of Germany, among the total employed population in 1975, the percentage of people who engaged in mental labor climbed to 51.4% from the 41.8% of 1960. Among the total employed population in Japan, the percentage of people who had received higher education was 17.4% in 1960, and by 1975 it had increased to 26.4%. In the Soviet Union, the number of engineers in the 1940s was 400,000, but in the 1980s it is 4,900,000, an eleven-fold increase.

These statistics demonstrate that there is an increasing demand for mental laborers with college degrees. This is the first challenge that the new technological revolution has presented to education. Presently, developed countries such as the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and the Federal Republic of Germany have basically popularized secondary education (Note: a considerable number of black people and foreign workers in America are still illiterate or semilliterate), and have also accelerated the development of higher education. This is the first step to take in the face of the new technological revolution.

2. Constantly upgrade the quality of education in schools of all levels. Popularize computer knowledge and technology in grade and high schools as quickly as possible in order to pave the road for man's "second campaign to eliminate illiteracy." Extensive research conducted by the United States National Science Foundation finds that 90% of the existing body of knowledge in physics, chemistry, and biology has been acquired since 1950. A Soviet scholar has pointed out that every year approximately 7 or 8 billion new terms are coined forming the so-called "stream of knowledge" (including names of new discoveries, terminology, graphics, formulae, figures, and others). Man is able to conduct more intensive and extensive research on nature by employing the latest equipment, facilities, and research techniques. Micro phenomena as small as one thousand-trillionth of a millimeter and macro phenomena as large as 1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 miles are among the subjects of research. Man is even able to detect phenomena that last only one ten-thousand-trillionth of a second.

In order to better adjust to the so-called "knowledge explosion," the curricula of schools of all kinds should make corresponding changes. Presently, countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany, England, and France are planning to include computer courses in the curricula of their colleges, high schools, and elementary schools. They term this planning man's "second campaign to eliminate illiteracy." Some scientists and educators have come to the conclusion that the best time for a person to be exposed to computers (including the designing of software) is between fifteen and nineteen.

3. The emphasis of academic education should gradually shift from the transmitting of knowledge to the development of students' abilities for self-learning, research, and creative thinking. According to research conducted by the departments of electrical engineering, machinery, chemical engineering, and aeronautics at MIT and four other American universities renowned for their science departments, since 1967 the number of courses offered by these departments doubles

every 17 years. The average worklife of a science and technology researcher is 45 years. Statistics indicate that only 20% of a science and technology researcher's total volume of knowledge is acquired in schools; the remaining 80%, through practical work experience.

Soviet educators believe that schools should concentrate on equipping students with reading, writing, math, observing, thinking, and communicating abilities as well as the ability to accomplish tasks. A large fraction of one's knowledge should be acquired through labor and practical experience. Some educators in the United States believe that college and graduate students should be well-schooled not only in natural sciences, social sciences, and the humanities, but they should also have training both in philosophy and in mastering tools of measurement and experimentation such as computers and lasers, in order to be minimally capable of conducting research.

Scientists and educators in the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany believe that higher education should aim at nurturing student curiosity and interest in new developments, questions, knowledge, technology, and industrial equipment in the objective world. They should be independent and fearless in challenging established theories and guidelines concerning technology and industrial equipment, and in creating new theories and guidelines concerning technology and industrial equipment.

4. Stress early childhood education in order to develop man's intelligence as early as possible. According to some physiologists, psychologists, and neurologists, the human body consists of 27 billion cells (some scholars believe it to be 40 billion) and 14 billion of those are "cells of intelligence" located in the cerebrum and the nerve system. By the age of six, 80% to 90% of the "cells of intelligence" have already been formed, and the remaining 10% to 20% are formed between the ages of 7 and 17. Therefore, early childhood education is extremely important. Some Japanese scientists and educators even think that "early childhood education can determine a person's entire life."

The United States is trying to find ways to improve the quality of its elementary and high school curricula of English, math, physics, chemistry, and biology. England, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, and Sweden are making fundamental changes in their educational systems, curricula, textbooks, teaching methods, examination systems, training programs for teachers, and educational investments. These changes are made in order to meet the challenges presented by the new technological revolution.

We have briefly presented the latest on the educational reforms in the world. Scholars in Western capitalist nations understandably tend to approach problems along the line of scientific and technological productivity. We Marxists should not only explore these problems along the lines of scientific and technological productivity, we should also approach them through production relations, the superstructure, and ideological awareness. Nevertheless, the above information can still be helpful to the education reforms that China is undertaking.

Presently, Japan's national TV programs stress the early childhood and elementary school stages. For instance, TV series such as "Adoki the Iron Arm," "The Great Forests," and "The Travel of Niels on a Goose" are all state-funded films aimed at developing children's intelligence. Some American scholars think that elementary education should begin at the age of 4. Kindergartens in Japan that stress individual instruction have experimented with teaching English to 3-year-olds.

5. Develop fully continuing education throughout each employee's lifetime. Many big enterprises in the West, in order to solve the problem of "the aging of knowledge" among employees, have founded modern educational training centers. Many big enterprises in Japan (for example, Mitsubishi, Fujitsu, Nippon Electric and others) require each and every employee (from laborers to managers) to receive a certain period of on-the-job re-training every year. The purpose of this is to expose them to the latest scientific and technological know-how. Employees are subjected to two tests (examinations) a year, in March and September. Those who have good grades or who prove to have contributed a great deal to the companies are promoted; those with passable results are also rewarded. But those exhibiting poor results are demoted, and those who refuse to join the program or fail to pass the tests are fired. Famous American universities (such as Harvard, Stanford, and others) offer seminars to directors of big banks and managers of big trusts. At these seminars the latest economic news and circumstances are explained by world-renowned scholars and experts. Participating directors and managers join scholars and experts in discussing questions of strategic importance such as future economic development. These discussions help to enhance the knowledge of high-level managerial personnel. The incumbent director of the World Bank, Clausen, once attended a seminar of this nature.

6. In order to meet the challenges presented by the new technological revolution, fundamental changes in education are being planned. The Soviet Union has decided to reform ordinary high school and elementary school education as well as vocational education between 1984 and 1986. High schools and elementary schools in Soviet Russia will be extended from 10 to 11 years (in other Republics from 11 to 12 years). Ordinary senior high schools will offer selective vocational courses and will also establish school-financed factories, farms, and stores in order to integrate education with practical experience. Vocational schools are expected to improve and enhance the quality of their science classes. Basic knowledge in computer science and robot theories is to be popularized in vocational as well as ordinary schools. This is the so-called "vocationalization of popular education and popularization of vocational education." Moreover, September 1st has been designated as the country's "Knowledge Festival," on which day outstanding teachers are awarded and praised.

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CSO: 4005/629

EAST REGION

SUPPRESSION OF INTELLECTUALS PROTESTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 May 84 p 3

[Article: "Higher Authorities Are Expected To Halt What Needs To Be Halted and Make Necessary Decisions"]

[Text] Reporter Zhao Xinagru [6392 4161 1172] reports the following: After this paper and JIANGXI RIBAO published on 27 April how the Nanchang Wristwatch Plant in Jiangxi suppressed its technical personnel, the workers and technicians and some cadres of the plant showed a strong reaction. In many places in the plant, one person read the paper while everyone listened and commented.

The party branch secretary of the plant scientific research office said: "The plant leaders actually from upon technical innovation and cannot tolerate it. They already learned a lesson 2 years ago. Why are they now more fierce than before?" Some scientific research personnel said: "Those who innovate and work hard are not favored, while those ignorant of technology muddle through and the jealous people are not discredited. The party paper is right to expose and criticize!" Some workers remarked indignantly: "The problems of the wristwatch plant were given attention before, but actually it was the same medicine prepared differently and the facts were never uncovered. All of us pent up our grievances. Four months have passed this year, and we were advanced 10 yuan in bonuses only before the Spring Festival. Until now we have not received 1 penny of the bonus. If the problems are not solved, production will be questionable." The marketing section chief said: "The problems of the plant can no longer be ignored. When production does not improve and the plant fails to bring out new varieties and styles, our marketing work will be hard to handle. We hope the higher level will make the necessary decisions." Some workers wrote: "The strange happenings at the Nanchang Wristwatch Plant are not limited to those revealed in the papers!" They then listed many instances not published in the papers.

They appealed: Only lifting the cover and launching reforms will rescue the enterprise. We look for a capable and professional leading group which can lead the workers and cadres in promoting reform. We hope the higher level will solve the problems of the plant as promptly as possible.

In spite of the strong mass reaction, some plant leaders, on many occasions, spread all kinds of negative and hostile comments and continue to cover up their mistakes. Reportedly the RENMIN RIBAO of that day was not permitted to be posted in a number of offices and workshops, and some workers, and some workers and cadres have to date not read the entire text of the critical article. It gives us much food for thought.

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CSO:4005/607

EAST REGION

COMMENTARY ON STUDYING PARTY CONSOLIDATION DOCUMENTS

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 31 Jan 84 p 1

[Commentary: "Deepen the Study of Party Consolidation Documents"]

[Text] The basic tasks of this party consolidation are to unify thinking, rectify work style, strengthen discipline, and purify the organization. These four tasks must all be completed, but the primary task is to unify thinking.

To unify thinking means to unify our thinking with the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the 12th CPC Congress, to unify our thinking with the four basic principles, and to maintain ideological and political unity with the Party Central Committee.

From a look at the situation in units that have already begun the study of party consolidation, we see that the vast majority of comrades have conscientiously, carefully, and thoroughly read the documents, and have also integrated them with reality, sorted out their ideas, and worked hard to improve their understanding of the party's line, principles and policies, and thus, generally speaking, the results of their study have been good. However, in unifying thinking, not all comrades are clear about, in the final analysis, what problems should the solution of be stressed. Generally speaking, what everybody talks comparatively more about are the problem of the "two whatevers" and the problem of the output quota contract system. Of course, it is necessary to relate to these problems. Because opposition to the "two whatevers" and practice of the output quota contract system are both component parts of the line, principles and policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, to sum up the experiences and lessons of these two problems is conducive to raising our consciousness of carrying out the Party Central Committee's line. However, for most comrades, these are problems that have already been solved. We should focus on problems that have not yet been solved, on things that concern relations with which we must struggle in the future.

For example, with regard to the line, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and the major policy decisions since then, are the structural reform carried out in accordance with the requirements of the "four modernizations" and the elimination of spiritual pollution, correct or not, are they Marxist or not, and are they, as some people say, "left" or are they right? On this fundamental question, the entire party must think in unity, and it won't do to be the least bit careless about it.

Again, for example, are the "strategic goal," the "building of two civilizations," and the "three major tasks," which were put forward by the 12th CPC Congress, correct or not? Can they be achieved? These "first, second, and third" things relate to the destiny of the party and the state and are the overall situation. The final aim of party consolidation is comprehensively to create a new situation in the construction of socialist modernization and successfully to achieve these "first, second, and third" things. If on this question there is no confidence, no common language, no fighting will full of vigor, and no action in unison, then what unified thinking is there?

Also, for example, must all departments, trades and professions arrange their own work in line with the relationships of the general goal and the general tasks? Without the slightest doubt, no matter what front, no matter what profession or work, all of them must subordinate themselves to and serve the party's general goal and general tasks, subordinate themselves to and serve the overall situation. This is as Comrade Mao Zedong said: Our party has stipulated the general goal and general policy of the Chinese Revolution and has also stipulated the various specific work lines and various specific policies. If we forget the party's general line and general policy, then we will lose our bearings, vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and adversely affect our work. A prominent problem that is now adversely affecting the creation of a new situation is that there are a shifting of responsibility and a haggling over trifles between departments. And even for one's own convenience and for one's own department's small interest, there is no scruple about hampering the overall situation, adversely affecting work, and damaging the overall interests of the state and the people. If this problem is not solved, there can be no talk about unified thinking.

During the study of the documents on party consolidation, if we closely relate to the reality of these three aspects, unify the thinking of the broad masses of party members, and also study while discussing and while reforming, then our study will take a great step forward and the comparison inspection in the following step will have clear-cut goals. If thinking is unified on these fundamental questions, then the result of party consolidation will be a situation full of vigor and vitality and not one of excessive caution. Therefore, each unit must analyze where its own situation in study is, look at these fundamental problems, and see whether the thinking of party members is truly unified. If the unit has not yet met this requirement, it must continue to carefully study the documents on party consolidation and cannot hurriedly switch to comparison and inspection and "write some superficial articles."



## EAST REGION

### PROPAGANDA ON LEGAL SYSTEM LAUNCHED IN ZHEJIANG

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by Hao Hua [6787 5478]: "Activities of Legal System Propaganda Month Widely Launched in Urban and Rural Areas of Zhejiang"]

[Text] The activities of Legal System Propaganda Month, with guaranteeing the legal rights of women and children as their central content, are now being launched widely throughout the urban and rural areas of our province.

The party committees at all levels are attaching much importance to the activities of this Legal System Propaganda Month. The leading cadres of Wenzhou and Taizhou prefectures and Ningbo City have personally explained and publicized the legal system to the cadres of their directly subordinate organizations, cadres of districts and communes, and to teachers and students. All areas have engaged in various forms of propaganda such as using the press, radio, television, motion pictures, slide shows, video tapes and sound recordings, drama, quyi [fold art forms], literature and art, and photo exhibitions; holding forums, explanation and publicizing meetings, and reporting meetings; and launching street-corner legal consultations. On Changqing Street in Xiacheng District, Hangzhou City, 58 explanation and publicizing sessions have been held, at which more than 4,000 persons have received education. In Haining County, 30 units, including the politics and law committee and propaganda department of the county party committee and the Women's Federation branch, organized roving troupes for explaining and publicizing legal knowledge that separately went to all districts and towns in the county. All units of the PLA stationed in Zhejiang have vigorously taken part in the activities of Legal System Propaganda Month, sending propaganda groups and propaganda cars to the masses in the places where they are stationed to propagate the relevant legal knowledge for safeguarding women and children.

During the propaganda month activities, people's courts at all levels have opened court sessions to hold public trials or have held public judgment rallies at which a batch of hooligans and criminals who raped or insulted women were severely and speedily punished in accordance with the law, thereby resolutely cracking down on criminal activities that cause bodily injury to women and children. On three occasions the principal responsible

comrades of the Zhenhai party committee have gone to farms, cities, and townships to check up on the propaganda activities, and they supervised and speeded up the conscientious inquiry and handling of a case of a vindictive attack on a woman cadre from a certain engineering team. Jiangbei District in Ningbo City has conducted door-to-door education on some litigants who illegally cohabited and maltreated older people, thereby supervising and speeding up the correction of this situation. Daxu Township in Pujian County, since launching propaganda on the legal system, has found the true parents of several abandoned infants, has given criticism and education to these parents, and has insured the infants healthy growth to maturity.

Responsible persons of the provincial legal system propaganda office think that the activities of the Legal System Propaganda Month to safeguard the legal rights of women and children must with persistent efforts continue to be launched in a thoroughgoing fashion. Various measures must be fully and resolutely applied to prevent or correct the phenomenon of damaging the legitimate rights of women and children. Those matters requiring adjudication should be handled by the judicial organizations, administrative matters should be handled by the administrative organizations, and matters involving restitution should immediately be expedited by activating relevant bodies. Attention must be paid to the range of propaganda, and no spots must be left untouched. This propaganda will promote the guilding of spiritual civilization.

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CSO: 4005/455

## EAST REGION

### FUJIAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS PROPOSES MEASURES TO DEAL WITH MASSES

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 84 p 1

[Article by the reporting group of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress: "Five Measures Proposed for Studying While Reforming"]

[Text] The leading party group and the full-time members of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress have integrated their study of the documents on party consolidation with reality, both studying and discussing them, and have listened to the opinions of party branches of organizations, and from their study have proposed five measures for rectification and reform.

The five measures are: 1) Establish a system in which the leading cadres personally receive and deal with letters and visits from the people's representatives, 2) Reform the style of meetings, putting emphasis on actual results and not on form, 3) Through the handling of several recent cases of violating the constitution and the law, strengthen supervision of the law, propaganda and education on the legal system, and safeguard the sanctity of the constitution and the law, 4) Strengthen leadership of study by organization party branches and resolve the contradiction between the study of party consolidation and day-to-day work, 5) During the study of party consolidation, progressively study the question of how to create a new situation in the work of the standing committee of the people's congress.

The leading party group of the people's congress standing committee thinks that establishment of a system in which the leading cadres personally receive and deal with letters and visits from the people's representatives is an important measure for building closer relations between the people's congress standing committee on the one hand and the people's representatives and masses on the other hand. To this end, the group specifically stipulated: 1) Beginning after the Spring Festival, Tuesday and Friday of every week will be the days for receiving the people's representatives, 2) The full-time members and the deputy chairmen of the standing committee will take turns to personally deal with the letters and visits from the people's representatives and masses on the receiving days, 3) A

full-time chairman and deputy chief secretary of the people's congress standing committee will be in charge of receiving the letters and visits from the people's representatives and masses, 4) A system for perfecting the organizational structure and for improving and enhancing the speedy handling of affairs is to be set up, 5) Where the leading cadres of the people's congress standing committee make inspections at the basic level through forms such as holding forums of people's representatives at the place in question, they are to extensively listen to the opinions of the people's representatives and masses and give full play to the role of the people's representatives.

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EAST REGION

JIANGSU DISCIPLINE INSPECTION COMMISSION SETS WORK PRIORITIES

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 18 Apr 84 p 1

[Article by Yang Tingzhi [2799 2185 4249]: "The Whole Party Concentrates on Party Style, Strives for Initial Victories in 'Seven Battles, Seven Wins'; Jiangsu Discipline Inspection Commission Sets Priorities for This Year's Work at Work Conference"]

[Text] The provincial Discipline Inspection Commission held its working conference between 9th and 15th to pass on and implement the spirit of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission work conference. It set forth this year's tasks and discussed how to achieve remarkable improvement in party style, in order to ensure initial victories in the new "seven battles, seven wins" campaign.

At the conference, Comrade Xing Bai [9388 4101], secretary of the provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, passed on the spirit of the working conference of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, delivered the work report entitled "Centering on the New 'Seven Battles, Seven Wins', We Must achieve In Party Consolidation Marked Improvement in Our Style Throughout the Province," and had serious discussions with the comrades attending the conference.

Looking back at the work in 1983, the conference pointed out that party committees, discipline inspection commissions at various levels and the vast numbers of party members throughout Jiangsu have really achieved success in their work to correct party style and to enforce party discipline. Party style has been further improved. Party committees at various levels and party-member cadres have deepened their understanding of the party line, principles and policies since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. The level of political consciousness to keep in unison with the central authorities has risen. The level of consciousness among the vast numbers of party members and cadres to resist unhealthy tendencies has been strengthened universally. The unhealthy tendency of using powers to seek one's own interests is disappearing. The unhealthy tendency of building and distributing houses among party-member cadres has basically been checked in those places and departments where the "open letter" was well implemented. Political life within the leading bodies of party organizations at various levels has improved, and democratic centralism has initially been

strengthened. Through discussions, the comrades attending the conference further widened their field of vision, thoroughly understood that they are facing an excellent situation where party style, the general mood of the people and economic construction promote each other. Their confidence has been strengthened. But the conference also pointed out that at present there still exists in the party serious impurity in ideology, work style and organization. The party style has not yet been fundamentally improved. The level of consciousness of some party organizations and party-member cadres in implementing the central authorities' line, principles and policies is not yet high. Disruption from the "Left" or right in implementation and expediting party policies occurs now and then. The unhealthy tendency of using powers to seek one's own interests still exists among some party member cadres. Severe bureaucratism, decentralism and departmental selfishness exist among some party-member cadres and have not been thoroughly exposed. There are still "untouched spots" in the battle against serious criminal activities in economy. Economic criminal activities such as corruption and larceny often occur. While fully recognizing the main trend of an improved party style and various beneficial conditions, we must also see the stubbornness and resilience of some unhealthy trends and the arduous task to achieve fundamental improvement of party style. We must remain clear-minded from beginning to end, work conscientiously to marked a improve party style year after year, and reach the goal to achieve fundamental improvement in 5 years.

The conference concluded that in order to achieve notable improvement in party style this year, we must do work in four key areas: (1) We must further enforce the party's political discipline. Party organizations and discipline inspection commissions at various levels must first upgrade the education of party members and cadres, teach them to consciously maintain ideological and political unanimity with the central authorities. We should take disciplinary action against those who oppose the Central Committee's line, principles and policies from the "Left" or right and after education and criticism still persist in their mistakes. (2) We must vigorously check the tendency to use one's powers to seek selfish interests, particularly those that are very harmful and that the masses are most dissatisfied with, such as using one's authority to demand gifts and take bribes; encroaching upon the interests of the state, the collective and the masses; using public funds to entertain and give presents; helping one's own children, wife, relatives and friends to gain employment, attend better schools, recruit workers, promote cadres, transfer registered permanent residence, etc. We must concentrate our strength, carry through the work to the end, and firmly correct these unhealthy tendencies. We must take effective measures to check and deal with such styles as "electric tyrant," "water yamen," "coal tiger," etc. We should continue to correct the unhealthy trend in building and distribution of houses, keep close inspection and takeover, and strive to finish the work before July 1st. (3) We must firmly fight and overcome severe bureaucratism, departmental selfishness and decentralism. We must seriously deal with bureaucrats whose serious neglect and dereliction of duty, because of their irresponsibility in their work, has caused severe waste and damage in production and construction and other serious mistakes. Activities of decentralism and

departmentalism which seriously violate financial and economic discipline must be strictly dealt with. We should suggest to the judicial organs to bring those who violate criminal law to justice. (4) We must continue to battle against serious criminal activities in the economic sphere and achieve marked results in eliminating "untouched spots" and in making improvements. We must combine enterprise consolidation with careful financial checking, and press the struggle in a planned way in commercial, communications and other systems. We must grasp the focal points of our struggle and concentrate our strength on checking and dealing with serious cases, especially recent large and important cases. Serious economic criminal elements must be punished severely and quickly and the phenomenon of ineffective attacks eliminated.

The conference emphasized that it is an important task of the party to noticeably improve its style of work. We must insist on consolidating party style throughout the party. Upper-level party committees must take the lead in consolidation, making rectification of party style the priority item on their agenda. Members of party committees must take the lead to correct unhealthy trends, adhere to principles, dare to confront difficulties, conquer weakness, fear of difficulty, and inability to maintain strict discipline. Party committees must strengthen their leadership in discipline inspection and consciously accept supervision by discipline inspection commissions at the same level, which is stipulated in the party constitution and system. Discipline inspection organizations at various levels should consider party consolidation as their central task, strengthening themselves to play an effective role. However, discipline inspection must be subordinated to the party's general tasks and objectives; it must ensure smooth economic construction, further implement the guiding principle to focus on rectification of party style, handle correctly the relationship between education and case-handling, and constantly improve style and method of our work. If this way, party style can be remarkably improved throughout Jiangsu this year and our discipline inspection work will take on a new aspect.

Comrade Shen Daren [3088 6671 0086], deputy secretary of the provincial party committee, gave a speech at the conference. A total of 300 or more leading members of municipal and county discipline inspection commissions and offices of economic cases, leading members and cadres in charge of discipline inspection in organizations at the provincial level, and representatives of organizations under provincial jurisdiction and local institutions of higher education attended the conference.

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CSO: 4005/602

## EAST REGION

### COMMENTARY ON IMPLEMENTATION OF PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 26 Apr 84 p 1

[Commentary: "Personal Responsibility System in Organizations Is Imperative"]

[Text] In the spirit of the national conference on the same subject, the provincial work conference on implementation of post responsibility system in provincial party and government bodies integrated with the province's actual situation, discussed earnestly the issue of establishing the personal responsibility system throughout party and government bodies at all levels, mass organizations and public institutions in the province. It is imperative that this important matter be done now. We must take effective measures to consciously implement and expedite this important and urgent task.

After the new system of city-administered counties was implemented in Jiangsu in March, 1983, the provincial and county-level organs underwent reform and leading bodies were adjusted. The appearance of the organizations at all levels has changed fairly remarkably. However, we now face an extremely acute problem: Does organizational construction end here or does it continue to go forward? If we are satisfied with the first fruits of organizational reform and remain at a standstill, not only these fruits cannot be consolidated and will cease to develop, also we will be found to take the road backward. The fruits gained will be lost. Therefore, after initial organizational reform is completed, we must take the second and the third steps. The pressing matter at the moment is to establish the personal responsibility system throughout the province. This is another revolution in organizational construction. Only with the success of this revolution can we overcome bureaucracy, break free from bad customs and conventions, improve the work style of the organizations, increase work efficiency, and open up a new situation in office work, to suit the great historical mission of our socialist modernization construction. Only with the success of the revolution can we bring the initiative of cadres and employees throughout the organizations into full play, call forth their revolutionary enthusiasm, kindle their enterprising spirit and the spirit to offer new ideas, train large numbers of outstanding qualified people, accelerate greatly the pace of our cadres' "four transformations," and energetically promote the reform of our organizational and personnel systems.



To firmly implement the personal responsibility system in party and government bodies and mass organizations and public agencies does not mean that we should take hasty action. The personal responsibility system is a system of individual responsibility with each person taking his share of work, on the basis of "position classifications" and division of responsibilities. Therefore, it must be done according to the relevant regulations of higher authorities, on the basis of successful readjustment of the leadership, the internal organizational setup and completion of a fixed number of staff, and should be combined with every work task of every period. Forms and methods to be applied should suit the actual situation of each organization. Responsibility and jurisdiction are to be differentiated level by level, from top to bottom; tasks are to be broken down level by level. Duties and jurisdiction of each position and each worker should be clearly defined, in order to achieve the unity of duty, responsibility and rights. In this way, every task will be taken care of by someone, everyone has responsibilities, duties and rights, each attending to his job, each fulfilling his duty. And based on this, we must implement a strict inspection system, a system of reward and penalty, to encourage the progressive and change the backward. In this way, the personal responsibility system can truly be implemented and will not be a mere formality. So we can see that we must not only regard the personal responsibility system as an important matter but must also as a great learning experience. We must carefully study, organize and implement it, and keep improving and exploring actively in practice so as to perfect the system.

Because implementation of the personal responsibility system is a reform, it will inevitably encounter various resistance. The key to smashing the bonds of old ideology and old customs and to successfully implementing the personal responsibility system lies with the leadership. Leading cadres of all units at various levels must first take the lead in implementing the system and must set an example, playing an exemplary role. Only if leading comrades at the top act this way can the system be spread, sustained, and perfected. The tremendous results in the past several years since implementation of the system of contracted responsibility linking remuneration to agricultural output as well as the economic responsibility system in enterprises have concretely demonstrated the significance of the personal responsibility system in organizations. The time is already ripe now to propagate the system in every single party and government body, mass organization and public agency. We want this to be one of the key elements of the overall party consolidation drive, correcting while consolidating and correcting before consolidating, and bring marked results this year. We strongly believe that the day that the personal responsibility system is conscientiously implemented in organizations will be the day when the face of these organizations will be fundamentally changed.

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CSO: 4005/602

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HUNAN'S CHANGDE TRIES TO IMPLEMENT INTELLECTUALS POLICY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 May 84 p 3

[Article: "Hunan's Changde Prefectural Party Committee Grants Five Powers to Group Implementing Intellectuals Policy"]

[Text] Reporter Zhang Zaihua [1728 0375 5478] reports the following: The party committee of Changde Prefecture, Hunan, granted five powers to the group implementing the intellectuals policy and hastened the pace of its work.

Last March, the prefecture formed the group to implement the intellectuals policy and its party committee decided at that time to grant powers to it in five areas: examining and acting on the applications to change from rural to nonrural status made by family members of scientific and technical personnel of the middle level and above; adjusting the personnel performing work outside their fields of learning and properly carrying out the talent exchange work of the area; directly handling the major problems left by history; solving the special difficulties of the intellectuals in work and living; and investigating and handling instances of attack and discrimination against the intellectuals.

The group consist of comrades of the organization, labor and personnel, propaganda, united front, public security, education and public health departments. They are familiar with the party's policies in all aspects and possess both duty and power. The various untis are required to implement their recommendations earnestly. Thus, efficiency has been greatly improved and the pace of the fulfillment of the intellectuals policy hastened. In the past 2 months, the prefecture reinvestigated the historical problems of 135 persons, and those of 112 were settled. In addition, the practical working and living difficulties of 1,215 persons were solved.

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CSO: 4005/607

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

EFFORTS TO FULFILL INTELLECTUALS POLICY UNDERTAKEN IN GUANGDONG

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Apr 84 p 1

[Article: "Seriously Tackle Problems and Implement Policies One By One"]

[Text] The Guangdong provincial party committee's leading group investigating the work on intellectuals recently despatched 13 small investigative groups to examine the fulfillment of the intellectuals policy in units directly under the province.

The old comrades who have withdrawn to the second and third lines and who were serious about and familiar with work on intellectuals served as group leaders. Together with the party organizations (committees) of the units concerned, they will launch investigations in the six aspects proposed in the documents of the Central Organization, Propaganda, and United Front Departments and study the means to solve the existing problems.

Before the small groups started out, Wang Ning [3769 1380], provincial party committee secretary and chief of the leading group investigating the work on intellectuals, called a meeting. He pointed out: The "left-wing" influence is the main obstacle to the complete fulfillment of the intellectuals policy. The small investigative groups must organize the party committees, organizations and personnel branches of the units concerned to study earnestly the relevant speeches and comments of the central leading comrades, rectify their attitude and improve their understanding. The party committees of the various levels must each have a responsible comrade in charge of the work, list the fulfillment of the intellectuals policy in their important daily agenda and focus on it earnestly. The various units must follow the principle of simultaneous investigation and solution and depend on themselves to solve the problems. They must not shift the responsibility back and forth and perform their duties in a perfunctory manner. They must give attention to discovering typical models in the course of their investigation and summarize the positive and negative experiences, commending the good, criticizing the poor and publicizing the outstanding in the papers. Through investigation, they must discover talents and recommend intellectuals of both ability and political integrity for important posts. The provincial party committee's leading group investigating work on intellectuals demands that all city and prefectural party committees send out small investigative groups, earnestly solve the problems and implement the policy provision by provision.

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

ILLEGAL STATUS CHANGES IN GUANGDONG'S TUNCHANG COUNTY FOUGHT

Former Status Restored

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 84 p 1

[Article: "Guangdong's Tunchang County Firmly Restores the Status of Those Illegally Changing from 'Farming to Nonfarming'"]

[Text] Reporter Wang Hongru [3769 1347 0320] reports the following: In studying the documents on party consolidation, the party committee and government of Tunchang County, Guangdong, firmly adhered to the practice of simultaneously learning and rectifying. Since last November, they focused on some leading cadres who used their power for private gain, resorted to deception and acted illegally on changing from "farming to nonfarming" and on worker recruitment and decided to cancel the urban residence registrations and grain and oil credentials of 119 individuals in 4 groups and return them to their former units for handling. Meanwhile, the county discipline inspection commission investigated the personnel who seriously violated law and discipline in making the status changes, and the judicial branch will impose criminal responsibilities on those who violated the criminal law.

With the aid of the work group of the Hainan District party committee, the Tunchang County party committee, beginning in the second half of last year, made the shorting out of illegal changes from "farming to nonfarming" an important part of party style rectification. They started with the leading cadres at the county level and launched criticism and self-criticisms. At the meeting, six leading cadres examined their mistakes of illegally changing the statuses of their relatives and friends and corrected their mistakes with a positive attitude. County party committee secretary Li Guangdian [7812 0342 7193] voluntarily restored the former statuses of six relatives and friends.

Since last November, they restored the former statuses of 38 people, the first group, because of illegal changes and worker recruitment by means of false replacements, false policy implementation, false worker recruitment and misrepresentation as urban veterans and young intellectuals. Among them, 27 were the relatives and friends of 7 leading members of the county party committee and government (including the former county leader).

While restoring the statuses, the county discipline inspection commission and judicial branch investigated and handled the illegal and undisciplined

conduct of the main responsible persons of units in charge of status changes. Utilizing his post, Lin Youyi [2651 1429 5030], the former directing cadre of the county labor bureau, changed the statuses of and found jobs for 246 relatives and friends and those having connections with him in the course of 2 years, seriously corrupting the party style and violating the criminal law. Recently he was expelled from the party, dismissed from his post and arrested by authority of the procuratorial organ.

#### Tunchang's Example Recommended

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 15 Apr 84 p 1

[Commentary: "Taking the Lead in Consolidation and Rectification by the Leaders Is the Key"]

[Text] The leading cadres should serve as the models in implementing party and government discipline and developing the fine traditions. If they have made mistakes, they should also serve as models in making corrections. It is the people's eager hope for the leading cadres in party consolidation. To prevent turning their hope into disappointment, the key is in the practical manifestations of the leaders. In restoring the statuses of those who illegally changed from "farming to nonfarming," the main leaders in Guangdong's Tunchang County served as models. Their action doubtlessly produced a decisive impact on the county's correct handling of the problems of the use of power for private gain.

The use of power for private gain and bureaucratism are the two main problems requiring solution in party consolidation. The masses bitterly abhor the conduct of some cadres who use their power for private gain and know that such conduct is against party and government discipline and even state law. Therefore, all Communist Party members, especially the leading cadres, must guard against it. Whoever doing so severs himself from the masses and incurs their sharp criticisms, either overt or covert. Thus, if a cadre makes the mistake of using power for private gain, the only remedy is conscious correction, the sooner and the more thoroughly the better. Otherwise, he will lose the people's trust. He will not be in a position to lead in party consolidation or succeed in other work.

In terms of Tunchang County, the problem of illegal status changes was serious. In studying party consolidation, the leaders, from the county party committee secretary to others, faced the evil, firmly took the lead to correct the mistakes, won the right to speak in leading the party organizations of the various levels throughout the county to learn and rectify simultaneously, easily solved the "long-standing, big and difficult" problems and satisfied the masses. In the course of party consolidation, the errant cadres criticized bourgeois individualism and improved their awareness. The individual cases which were particularly serious encountered earnest punishment. Thus, an evil matter was turned into a good thing.

We hope that all areas with major problems will act like the comrades of Tunchang. Such an action will enhance the people's confidence in party consolidation, raise the party's prestige and propel the successful progress of all tasks.

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## CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

### CONSOLIDATION OF GUANGDONG CONSTRUCTION COMMISSION DISCUSSED

#### Fight Against Bureaucratism

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 84 p 1

[Article: "Leading Cadres of Provincial Construction Commission Conscientiously Improve Workstyle"]

[Text] The party organization of the Guangdong provincial construction commission earnestly implemented the principle of simultaneous consolidation and rectification in the course of party consolidation and gave attention to all opinions expressed by party members and the masses, thereby enhancing their confidence in party consolidation and unfolding a new scene in the work style of the organs.

Since launching party consolidation more than 4 months ago, the commission's party organization encouraged party members and the masses to express their opinions on party consolidation and held many special meetings to discuss the issue of consolidation and rectification. Bureaucratism was one of their main complaints. It was mainly manifested in numerous general appeals but very little intensive investigation and study, much planning at meetings but few solutions to problems on site, failure to deal promptly with the poor results of key projects and the numerous construction accidents, etc. The party organization felt that wherever possible, all matters which incurred a large number of complaints from party members and the masses should be immediately rectified and that it must start with the leaders and focus on the word "rectify." After the Party Central Committee issued instructions on developing Hainan, the commission party organization failed to study them properly, nor did the leading cadres visit Hainan. In party consolidation, the party organization examined the problem. On 8 April, party organization secretary Yang Guoqing [2799 0948 1987] and vice chairman Lin Xuchu [2651 2485 0443] led the cadres concerned to inspect the Hainan Administrative Zone and study the ways to help its development. After the serious accident of the collapse of a seven story building in Haikang County 2 years ago, the commission failed to give it prompt attention and the masses were very dissatisfied. Conscientiously learning the lesson, the party organization acted earnestly to make corrections. When the two construction accidents occurred in Zhanjiang City and Haikang County this year, the commission promptly dispatched leading cadres and engineers to make on-site investigations, analyze the causes of the accidents and propose ways of

handling, producing a favorable effect on strengthening quality management throughout the province. Attending a meeting in Beijing, a vice chairman of the commission received an assignment of rendering aid to an inland construction project. Upon his return on 29 August, he immediately relayed the information to the party organization, studied the implementation of the assignment, reported to the provincial government leaders, made arrangements speedily and solved the problem in 3 days, changing the style of past procrastination. The masses were pleased with the leaders' simultaneous consolidation and rectification and earnest checking and examining.

In the course of the simultaneous consolidation and rectification, the commission party organization also focused on the unhealthy trends in housing assignments and construction and handled the "five-many" phenomenon in the internal work of the organs. In regard to matters to be rectified by the various offices, they were required to implement them item by item. In party consolidation, the housing and real estate office changed its former practice of discussion without decision and slow action. To start with, the State Council had decided 2 years ago to sell dwellings to private individuals and demanded that the work be launched by the various provinces, but the said office stalled along and took no action. In party consolidation, several of the responsible cadres concerned made investigations and studies in Shantou and Jiangmen and helped formulate the concrete methods of implementation.

#### Practical Action Urged

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Apr 84 p 1

[Commentary: "Earnestly Implement Consolidation and Rectification"]

[Text] In party consolidation, the Guangdong provincial construction commission displayed results in simultaneous consolidation and rectification. Its main experience was that the leading cadres served as models and earnestly implemented the consolidation and rectification.

The principle of simultaneous consolidation and rectification must be followed in party consolidation from beginning to end. What problems should be focused on for consolidation and rectification? We must activate the broad ranks of party members and the masses to express opinions and seize the problems which have attracted the most attention and which can be solved and solve them promptly. In the process, the leading cadres must take a clear-cut stand, listen to the diverse opinions, focus on the word "rectify" and take prompt action to solve the problems which can be solved, in order to show their determination, thereby increasing the confidence of the masses in party consolidation. Some party members said: "Of thousands of items, setting an example by the leading cadres comes first." These words are the key to the success of consolidation and rectification.

To implement consolidation and rectification earnestly, we must guard against perfunctoriness in our work. We must comprehensively analyze the numerous



opinions expressed by the masses, explain to them the problems which cannot be solved now and solve those which can be solved promptly and earnestly one by one. Only thus will we gain concrete results. Some comrades discuss consolidation and rectification over and over again, holding meetings, discussing without deciding or taking no action after deciding. They talk in fancy words and write careful plans, but fail to implement them. By discussing principles while remaining seated, their words and writings, no matter how good, are merely lip service.

6080

CSO: 4005/603

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

YUCHENG COUNTY, HENAN, ENROLLS 10 PEASANT CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 84 p 1

[Article by Jiao Yufeng [3542 5940 6912], Qin Yutang [4440 0645 1016], and Li Taixing [2621 1132 5281]: "Ten Peasants Offered Positions in Township and Commune Leadership"]

[Text] Yucheng country, in Henan Province, has taken an encouraging step in reforming its cadre system by engaging ten culture, young peasants with both ability and political integrity for leadership positions in townships and communes. The contracts for the positions set the term of office at one year, effective 1 April. If the peasants work well, their contracts can be renewed at the completion of that period, while those who are not equal to the task will be returned to the peasantry.

The ten peasants are all below the age of 35 and the youngest is 18. Some of them were formerly brigade Party branch secretaries and Youth League branch secretaries, while others were from the ordinary masses. The contracts were signed after the peasants had volunteered, were recommended by the masses and were checked out by the organizing department. During their tenure in office, they receive monthly living expenses of 35 or 40 yuan, depending on their duties. They will not change their registered permanent residence or be responsible for their farmland. They enjoy public health services, allowances for business trips, allowances for non-staple foods, rewards for economizing, and allowances for grain price differences. This group worked very well after they took office. Zhang Renbao [1728 0088 0202], the party branch secretary for the Zhangzhuang brigade of Zhangji Township, was appointed township party committee secretary by the county party committee after he was engaged. After he took office, he conscientiously took charge of wired broadcasting, family planning, afforestation, drought-resistant irrigated wheat, and road-building. These practices received the praise of vast numbers of cadres and the masses.

12534

CSO: 4005/631

CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

CRACKDOWN IN GUANGZHOU ON CORRUPT SUBURBAN CADRES

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 84 p 5

[Article by staff reporters Liang Zhaoming [2733 0340 2494] and Zeng Xiangping [2582 4382 1627]: "Behind the Smiles"]

[Text] On 2 October 1983, some judicial officers suddenly appeared at the home of Ye Zhuo [5509 0587], party committee secretary and bureau chief of Guangzhou suburban construction bureau, and told him: "Come with us to the procuratorate." Ye Zhuo, who was taking a nap, smilingly got in the car with them, and was still smiling when he was handcuffed at the Guangzhou procuratorate.

It wasn't that Ye Zhuo was unaware of the gravity of his problems.

In 1973, taking advantage of the chaotic "cultural revolution," Ye Zhuo got a transfer from the suburban people's hospital to become the assistant chief of the suburban construction bureau. In 1979, he was promoted to bureau party committee secretary and chief. With the party and government powers concentrated in his hands, he colluded with the former assistant secretary of the bureau party committee Wang Quanxing [3769 6898 5281] (who committed suicide to escape punishment) and former assistant bureau chief Zhang Zhenjiang [1728 2182 3068] (who was arrested) in one criminal activity after another.

Utilizing the availability of land in the suburbs, they extensively extorted "land money," either exchanging land for houses or operating commodity houses and withholding tax payments to the state by deception. According to the finance and tax departments, the bureau evaded tax payments up to 1 million yuan in recent years, inflicting heavy losses on the state.

They resorted to all despicable means to coax large sums of money and installed a small safe for their private use. In the past several years, they divided up and spent the enormous sum of 150,000 yuan that was in the safe.

They took bribes from a Hong Kong firm, used state funds to loan it more than 4 million yuan for its construction of the "Baiyun Xincun" new village and subsidized the project by considering the negotiated prices of materials as par prices, causing 1.3 million yuan in losses to the state.

Their serious dereliction of duty caused a loss of up to 1 million yuan in building the Yunshan Restaurant and Taihegang residential project.

The facts proved that Ye Zhuo was a "housing tyrant" who utilized his power to do whatever he pleased.

Ye Zhuo remained smiling when being handcuffed, but he was not deliberately showing his calm. He smiled: What can the judicial organ do to me!

It turned out that Ye Zhuo possessed other skills: He was an expert in self-protection by ingratiating himself with certain leading cadres who used their power for private gain. He said: "The central government is so far away. How can we maintain unity? The most practical thing is to maintain unity with one's immediate superiors. Anything else is nonsense." He took these words as his philosophy of life and criterion of conduct.

In April 1981, a Hong Kong firm invited Ye Zhuo, Zhang Zhenjiang and others for an "observation trip" to Hong Kong, led by a vice chairman of the standing committee of the suburban people's congress. When the vice chairman anxiously tried to raise money everywhere for his expenses, Ye Zhuo, in violation of the system of travel subsidies, obtained a large sum of Hong Kong currency and delivered to him several hundred Hong Kong dollars as "pocket money." Ye Zhuo told him: "Whatever you want done, just let me know." Arriving in Hong Kong, Ye Zhuo negotiated with a manager on the Hong Kong side to provide tens of thousands of Hong Kong dollars to the "observation" personnel for shopping. Hearing that the vice chairman wanted to buy a refrigerator, Ye Zhuo obtained for him an additional 3,000 Hong Kong dollars. Returning home with a full load, the vice chairman loudly praised Ye Zhuo as an "able man."

Ye Zhuo understood very clearly the temperaments and preferences of the leading cadres of superior units and catered to them in every way. If some of the responsible persons of the municipal planning, construction, agricultural and district commissions liked to drink, Ye Zhuo became their "drinking partners" and often took them to guest houses and bars to clink glasses. Last July, he invited a certain leader of the municipal construction commission to dinner in the Baitiane Guest House and spent 325 yuan at one throw. Other leaders liked to play mahjong, and Ye Zhuo became their "card friend." frequently renting a room in a guest house and inviting them to play, lasting all night until dawn. In January last year, he invited the leading cadres of the municipal agricultural commission to play cards in the Meihuayuan Guest House and spent 529 yuan for the rent and dinner. When the "higher level" needed money to give dinners, he generously "rendered assistance." In July and August last year, a certain leader of the municipal construction commission gave three dinners for cadres from out of town, but had no way to submit an expense account for the 1,600 yuan for the dinners. Ye Zhuo beat his own chest and said: "Don't worry. I will render complete assistance." Sure enough he got the money from the safe of the suburban construction bureau to settle the account.

When some leading cadres wanted to buy televisions, recorders, washing machines and refrigerators, Ye Zhuo, acting on their behalf, delivered the articles to their doors, either for free or at a reduced price. According to his account, as many as 20 leading cadres of the departmental, commission, office and bureau levels and above, from the district to the city, received favors from him, and more than 10 of them obtained color televisions, recorders and washing machines from Hong Kong firms connected with him, either at half price or for free. When the children or relatives and friends of the leaders wanted houses, Ye Zhuo did his best to accommodate. A total of 106 public dwellings was used by him for "connections" and "favors."

Ye Zhuo's effort was not wasted. Though the masses continuously exposed his conduct to the suburban and city departments concerned, he muddled through safely under the "protection" of certain leaders.

In 1982, the departments concerned had long ago reported Ye Zhuo and his gang's serious problems of using state funds for the Hong Kong firms to build houses and make a profit, but the district leaders paid no heed. In August that year, they even recommended Ye Zhuo's promotion from a district (county) level cadre to the municipal party committee.

In early 1983, under an ingenious pretext Ye Zhuo and his gang obtained 50,000 yuan in planning funds and divided it up privately. The suburban discipline inspection branch intended to use the incident as a breach and thoroughly investigate their economic crimes. Hearing of it, the district party committee leaders quietly advised Ye Zhuo to "return it." Turning around with a smile, he took the full sum from the government safe and paid it back. He then extorted construction funds from the subordinate construction teams to replenish the safe. Not a penny of the money already in his wallet was returned and the matter was settled by leaving it unsettled.

When the unhealthy trend in housing construction and assignment was investigated, a GUANGZHOU RIBAO reporter, based on information from the masses, wrote an article to expose the serious problems of Ye Zhuo and others. When the manuscript was delivered to the suburban party committee for examination, the committee secretary refused to have it published on ground that it was not necessary to criticize "the unavoidable unhealthy trends at the present time." Hearing about it, Ye Zhuo remarked cockily: "What about the party paper? It cannot touch one hair on my head!"

After thorough investigation, the municipal procuratorate obtained a large amount of criminal evidence against Ye Zhuo and his gang and arrested Zhang Zhenjiang was arrested, two responsible persons of the district party committee had dinner with Ye Zhuo in the Dongjiang Restaurant. At the dinner, the two responsible persons toasted him over and over again to "help him get over his shock" and the person in charge of political and legal work felt Ye Zhuo's chest and asked, "Are you alarmed?" He also cheered him by saying: "Nothing to be afraid of. No need to be alarmed!"

However, no matter how big the "protection umbrella," it could not cover the hideous truths of Ye Zhuo and his gang. Ye Zhuo, the once prominent figure in the Guangzhou suburbs, is now a prisoner in jail. No longer "smiling," he often holds his head and wails: "Had I known this, I would not have done what I did!" Then, how should his "drinking partners" and "card friends" be handled? People are waiting to see!

6080

CS0: 4005/606

## NORTH REGION

### UNIVERSITY PROMOTES INTELLECTUALS ON MERIT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 84 p 3

[Article: "Hebei Teachers' University Promotes Middle-level Cadres Without Following Any Set Pattern"]

[Text] Reporters Wang Gengnan [3769 1649 0589] and Yang Zhenwu [2799 2182 2976] report the following: In readjusting and assigning the leading groups of department and office levels, the Hebei Teachers' University boldly promoted well-trained middle-aged intellectuals, thereby vitalizing the middle-level groups and creating conditions for developing teaching and scientific research work.

Last January, the Hebei provincial party committee again readjusted the university's leading group at the school level. While strengthening its own building efforts, the new leading group performed "major surgery" on the middle-level leaders who had fairly serious problems, ascertained and handled those committing serious mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" and readjusted and assigned 83 leading comrades of the department and office levels. Among them, 47 had the title of lecturer or higher, constituting 58 percent, an increase of 25 percent compared with before, and their average age also dropped from the previous 53.9 years to 46.9.

In readjusting and assigning, the school party committee followed the methods described below:

Eliminating misgivings, they freely promoted six persons who had long been suppressed and attacked but who, as proved by facts, had been unjustly accused. Lecturer Zhang Guolin [1728 0948 2651] of the Marxist-Leninist teaching and research section was candid and upright. When serving as assistant branch secretary of an organ directly under the party committee in 1957, he was wrongly classified as a "rightist." He appealed continuously against the injustice. Encountering "dictatorship" during the "Cultural Revolution," he was criticized and struggled against. After rehabilitation, he sincerely supported the party's lines, principles and policies since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, worked assiduously for the party, struggled boldly against the unhealthy trends and won the high opinions of everyone. Upon recommendation by the board masses, the new party committee promoted him as the assistant secretary of the school discipline inspection commission.

They broke down the framework of "old Teachers' University," eliminated "inbreeding" and boldly promoted 12 "outsiders" who had been transferred to the university not long ago. After examining their work in the university and making reference to their consistent performances in their former units, the school party committee became certain and boldly promoted them. Rather keen in politics, geography lecturer Chen Guanyun [7115 0385 0061], who was transferred from the Hunan Teachers' College in 1974, reported many times the problems of the university to the higher-level party committee and had the courage to struggle against the leaders of the former party committee who persisted in their mistakes. However, he was not very particular about his methods and the masses complained about him. By means of observation, the school party committee found that his intrinsic quality and main aspect should both be affirmed and nominated him as the party general-branch secretary of the geography department.

They stepped out of the circle that limited promotions to the party and appointed 19 nonparty intellectuals as department and office leaders. A person outside the party, assistant professor Li Hongbin [2621 3163 3453] of the physical education department, was capable and dedicated. He was rather strict in teaching, but his method was oversimplified. Some people objected to his promotion on ground that he was conceited and arrogant and liked to show off. While fully affirming his intrinsic quality and main aspect, the school party committee also pointed out his shortcomings and, after convincing everyone by ideological work appointed him vice chairman of the physical education department.

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## NORTH REGION

### INTELLECTUAL DEMANDS POWER ALONGSIDE DUTY

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 May 84 p 5

[Article by reporters Duan Cunzhang [3008 1317 4545] and Wang Aisheng [3769 5337 3932]: "Duty Must Be Accompanied with Power -- Inner Thoughts of Chen Huibo [7115 1920 3134] After Taking Office"]

[Text] "Premier Zhao Ziyang expressed the inner thoughts of our intellectuals in his government work report," said Chen Huibo happily. When receiving reporters at the second meeting of the Sixth NPC, Chen Huibo discussed his feelings after taking a leading post.

Last February, steel rolling expert Chen Huibo, horticulturist Zhong Jixue [0112 3444 1331] and senior engineer Liu Xishan [0491 6932 1472] of the Taiyuan Heavy Machine Plant undertook leadership functions at the Shanxi provincial science commission. Chen Huibo said: "As a bookworm, I have no great interest in becoming a 'bureaucrat,' but the provincial party committee thinks highly of us and gives us heavy burdens to carry. As a Communist Party member, how can I refuse to carry the burden? He promptly took office and prepared to make accomplishments at his new post.

Resistance was encountered right at the start. With duty, one does not necessarily have real power. Not long after joining the science commission, Chen Huibo ran into all kinds of strange happenings. The provincial party committee declared that he was in charge of the work, yet he was only assigned the overall work of planning and achieving results and had no authority over such important departments as personnel, discipline inspection and the organ party committee. Vestiges of the "Cultural Revolution" remained widespread in the science commission. Comments were made behind the back and problems were not laid on the table. In regard to such important work as case investigation and cadre assessment assigned by the central and provincial discipline inspection commissions, Chen Huibo and others had no part. What was even more strange was that after provincial party committee secretary Li Ligong [2621 4539 0501] and Chen Huibo approved the application for transfer of cadres into the building design institute of the provincial Jinguang Talent Development Company, some people resisted and refused to affix the seal, seriously hampering the fulfillment of the intellectuals policy.

Comrade Chen Huibo said: "I went to Beijing for a meeting 3 days after taking office. Less than 1 week after I returned, some comrades proposed behind our backs a list of middle-level cadres to be appointed. I felt that it was very sudden, as if they wanted to force it on others. They wanted me to express my attitude. It is very difficult for me." The middle-level cadres of the science commission averaged 53.5 years of age, with 33 percent of them of the college level, 17 percent of the technical secondary level and 50 percent of the junior middle level or below. Chen Huibo felt that the advanced age and low educational level of the leading cadres made it impossible to adapt to the new situation. Thereupon, he investigated in many ways, argued adjustments of the leading group and forcefully promoted more than 10 comrades of college level. He said: "With some effort, the situation is somewhat better, but it has not basically changed!"

Perhaps some people say that Chen Huibo is "struggling for power." Yes, the power granted by the party to the scientific and technical leaders must be struggled for. Struggle is a manifestation of the party spirit. Without struggle, it will be difficult to fulfill the intellectuals policy. Comrade Chen Huibo said: "If I am asked to do the work, I must have both the duty and the power. I will not be a mere skeleton, a foil. I have no wish to suffer for an empty title. It will be better for me to return to the plant and resume scientific research." Taking the post and handling the work, he had the courage to think, to speak and to act. When some people continued to sow discord, he loudly appealed at the party organization meeting: "If they still refuse to change, let us deal with them!" Some cadres took protracted sick leaves and failed to come to work, but not long after he started rectifying the organ style, they all reported for work.

For the new cadres to have both duty and power, the path remains difficult. Developing the spirit of "climbing the summit of science and technology and dedicating oneself to the four modernizations construction," Comrade Chen Huibo is struggling valiantly.

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CSO: 4005/607

NORTH REGION

CRACKDOWN ON 'UNHEALTHY' TRENDS IN SHANXI'S LINFEN REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 May 84 p 4

[Article: "Shanxi's Linfen Prefecture Learns from Yuncheng's Experience in Party Style Rectification"]

[Text] According to a report in SHANXI RIBAO, Shanxi's Linfen Prefecture recently held a work meeting on party style rectification. It was attended by more than 1,400 main responsible persons of the prefectural and county organs concerned. At the meeting, the speeches of the responsible persons of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission on the problems of the prefecture were relayed, and standing committee member Liu Liying [0491 7787 5391] and inspection group chief Liu Xu [0491 2485] of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and Shanxi provincial party committee secretary Li Ligong [2621 4539 0501] gave talks.

The meeting was held after a group of major cases was investigated and prosecuted under the guidance of the inspection group of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, and an obvious breakthrough was made in party style rectification throughout the prefecture. Extremely dissatisfied with the serious problems of party style in the prefecture, one after another the broad cadres and masses waged struggles in manifold forms. In just the months of August and September 1983 alone, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission received 327 letters from the cadres and masses of the prefecture, including 98 which exposed and accused the prefectural and county leaders. The leading comrades concerned of the Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation and Central Discipline Inspection Commission demanded "earnest investigation and handling." The standing committee of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission sent an inspection group headed by Liu Xu to Linfen to help the prefectural party committee investigate and handle the major cases and rectify the party style. Secretary Ma Guorui [7456 0948 3843] and standing committee member Liu Liying of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission went to Linfen to hear reports and render actual guidance.

The serious unhealthy party style in Linfen was mainly manifested as follows: Political discipline was lax, with some people refusing to follow the instructions of the higher level and others showing a strong antagonism. In cadre employment, there was the incorrect practice of making appointments by favoritism, drawing a circle around oneself and attacking and retaliating against those who differed. Some cadres utilized their functions to build private houses illegally,

and the three housing investigations were basically perfunctory. Some leading cadres utilized their functions to enter by the back door and illegally approved "changing from farming to nonfarming," worker recruitment and cadre promotion, and others granted favors in exchange for their private gain. Some leading cadres and political and legal personnel relied on their power and position, substituted their words for the law, violated the law when enforcing it and even resorted to dictatorship to attack the good and innocent people, while bending the law to protect the true criminals, enabling them to go scot-free. Abusing their functions and doing what they pleased, some few leading cadres were immoral and corrupt.

The leaders of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission solemnly pointed out that the reason for Linfen's unhealthy party style was because the leading group of the former prefectural party committee lost its effect as a fighting fortress and became an umbrella protecting the unhealthy trends and law and discipline violations. To rectify the party style, the leaders must serve as the models. In line with the spirit of the documents on party consolidation, they must rectify before consolidation, refer to Yuncheng's experiences, start with case investigations in party style rectification, reorganize the leading group and build a untied and fighting leading group having the courage to uphold principles and maintaining political unity with the Party Central Committee.

Provincial party committee secretary Li Ligong pointed out in his speech: The problems found in Linfen are fairly serious and party style rectification has become an urgent matter. We must give first place to the word "dare," concentrate to the end, "catch up with and learn from Yuncheng and persevere until final victory." We must investigate and handle the cases by seeking the truth from the facts, eliminate all interferences, break through the connections network and protection levels and rely on facts, criticizing, punishing or acting according to law as called for, without favoritism or leniency.

The work meeting on party style rectification produced a strong reverberation throughout the prefecture. Those violating law and discipline were alarmed, the cadres pursuing the unhealthy trends received an education, the comrades upholding principles were encouraged and the people of the prefecture gained hope.

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CSO: 4005/605

## NORTH REGION

### YUNCHENG PREFECTURE MODEL FOR REFORM OF PARTY STYLE

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 18 Mar 84 p 1

[Commentator's Article: "Conscientiously Study Yuncheng Prefecture's Experiences in Party Style Reform"]

[Text] The party organization at the Light Industry Department of Shanxi Province conscientiously studied and applied party workstyle rectification experiences of Yuncheng Prefecture, in order to have its own reform of workstyle proceed vividly, dramatically and step by step in great depth. This reiterates that the experiences summed up at Yuncheng by the work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, their "arousing awareness of party style through the investigation and disposal of typical major cases and their consolidation of the leading groups through the rectification of party workstyle," are of universal significance as guides. If they are conscientiously studied and creatively applied, they can lead to tangible results.

The key element in the experiences in party style reform at Yuncheng Prefecture is the investigation of major cases. Why should the investigation of major cases be the starting point? Practice at many places proves that the occurrence of a major case is in general not an isolated occurrence, but is directly or indirectly linked with certain people or certain related quarters.

Frequently, a major case is the concrete manifestation of unhealthy tendencies in a certain department's or unit's party workstyle. A firm grasp of the major case will be like taking the bull by the horn's regarding the problems in a department or unit and will allow effecting a breakthrough in the solution of the problem in question. At the start of party style reform at the Light Industry Department of Shanxi Province, the major case of Guo Pengfei [6753 7720 7378] was singled out, a case that had evoked most comment from the masses and has had the broadest implications, as the case in which a breakthrough was to be effected. Through the investigation and punishment of Guo Pengfei's crimes and the analysis of the formation and development of his case, it was possible to expose concretely and in depth the ideological, workstyle and organizational flaws within the party. This action not only convinced everyone of the importance and urgency of rectification of workstyle, for a strengthening of discipline

and purification of the party organization, but also enabled the broad masses of our party members to gain a lesson, which strengthened their confidence in the effectiveness of party reform and their resolve to reform. Party committees at all levels, particularly party organizations at units which are in the process of party reform, must by all means emulate the party organization at the Light Industry Department and, in accordance with the realities of their locality, conscientiously study and apply the experiences of Yuncheng Prefecture, striving to do a good job in party reform work at their specific unit.

Certain comrades lack a comprehensive and substantial understanding of the experiences of Yuncheng Prefecture. They say something like: "There are no offensive cases in our unit and so there is nothing we can learn from the Yuncheng experiences." Is that really so? In the course of the decade of turmoil, our party organization suffered serious disruptions, and certain offensive cases and serious problems have developed in many places and units, problems that have not been solved over long periods of time and which interfere with implementation of our party's political line, principles and policies. Even if the cases are not major, they may be medium or small, or there may be this or that long-standing problem. Selecting among these a representative problem, investigating it and dealing with it can provide the breakthrough in party reform. If we close our eyes to such problems or, being well aware of them, take no action, merely indulging in empty talk of party reform, the whole party reform will then become a merely perfunctory exercise. Viewing the conditions in provincial organ party reform units, why is it that certain units can never effect a breakthrough and stagnate in vague generalizations? There are of course many reasons for that, but one question that cannot be overlooked is that the leading comrades in places like the Light Industry Department did not conscientiously undertake a major case and check the party's workstyle, but bypassed the contradiction or even intentionally covered up the problem. There are also some comrades who place all hopes for the solution of their problems on the shoulders of the work team from the Central Discipline Investigation Commission. They say something like: "Major cases are complex and have broad implications; they cannot be handled without a work team from the Central Discipline Inspection Commission." This is certainly a lopsided view. We have to say that problems are sometimes huge and interferences and obstructions are encountered, which indeed makes it impossible to solve the problems without the help and support of party committees of higher rank. For instance, the problems in Yuncheng Prefecture would have been momentarily impossible to solve without the earnest help of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission work team. However, these work teams cannot be made to "capture the whole world," nor can they be dispatched everywhere. The ultimate solution for a certain locality or a certain unit's problems, and a fundamental turn for the better in their workstyle, will in the main still depend on the local party organization. If all problems were heaped on the work teams from the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, what need would there be to maintain the party organizations at various levels, and would they still constitute any fighting force to speak of? Rectifying the party's workstyle is a task that history has entrusted to our entire party

and to all members of the Communist Party. Party organizations at all levels, our leading cadres and each member of the Communist Party must emulate the work team comrades of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission and with a high sense of responsibility and a strong sense of principle, unselfishly, fearlessly, and indomitably pursue on their own initiative the fight against unhealthy tendencies. In this way alone will it be possible to achieve a fundamental turn for the better in our party's workstyle.

There are also comrades who say: "We have no 'imperial sword of highest authority' in our hands, how could we dare to take on major cases?" This way of thinking is also incorrect. The work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission has indeed an "imperial sword of highest authority" in its hands, but this consists of nothing other than the party's statutes, the party's discipline, the party's policies and the country's laws. It was on these items that they relied when they boldly and resolutely rectified the party's workstyle in Yuncheng Prefecture. This type of "imperial sword" is not held by only the work team of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission but is the common property of the party organizations at all levels and the entire body of Communist Party members. The question is whether one dares to use it and whether one is imbued with party consciousness and a fighting spirit. Some of our leading comrades only have selfish motives, and in whatever affair they are involved they will first plan for their own safety. They will be afraid of offending anyone, afraid to hurt feelings, afraid to block their ways of retreat, but they will never be afraid to harm the party's undertakings or the interests of the people. Even wielding the "imperial sword of authority" in their own hands, they will still not dare to use it, and even in affairs that responsible comrades of the central authorities or the provincial party committee have repeatedly approved for action and investigation, they will put off investigating. This so clearly amounts to not executing the directives of their superior authority that how can there still be talk of not having the "imperial sword of authority" in hand? Is this not a monstrous absurdity!

The provincial party committee has already demanded that party organizations at all levels throughout the province study the experiences of Yuncheng Prefecture when rectifying party workstyle. At present, the work of party reform in our province is just in the process of being carried out step by step and in depth. It is our hope that more and more units will, with due consideration for reality, learn perfectly from the experiences at Yuncheng Prefecture and create a new overall situation in party reform work.

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CSO: 4005/640

## NORTHEAST REGION

### COMEBACK OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION 'REBEL' DESCRIBED

Beijing LIAOWANG /OUTLOOK/ in Chinese No 20, 14 May 84 pp 22-23

/Article by Li Huimin /2621 1920 3046/ and Liu Changhe /0491 7022 3109/:  
"The Whole Story of the Rise of a 'Rebel'"/

/Text/ In Qiqihar City, located on the banks of the Nenjiang River, during the consolidation of the party organization, there was news of a case that caused a stir throughout the city: Liu Peng /0491 7720/, secretary of the party committee and director of an agricultural and animal husbandry vehicle general plant, had been removed from the party, had been stripped of his post as party committee secretary and plant director and had had his salary lowered from the 15th grade to the 18th grade. Recently, we visited the unit in which Liu Peng had worked and got the full story on this piece of news.

#### Seizing the Chance To Rebel

Liu Peng is 51 years old this year. Nineteen years ago he was the party branch secretary in the Design Section of the First Machine Tool Plant in Qiqihar. To begin speaking about him, this person with small shifty eyes was adept at seeing which way the wind was blowing. Once the "great cultural revolution" began, Liu Peng drew its flames down upon the scientists and technicians. For several days big-character posters inscribed "overthrow the bourgeois reactionary authorities" and "sweep away all demons and monsters" were spread all over the place, and more than 60 members of the over 100-man design section were singled out for criticism.

Then there was a sudden change in the situation. Soon afterward Liu Peng himself was "unhorsed" by the "rebel faction." Every day he swept with a broom corridors and lavatories. As he swept the floor, he calculated: "Other people can rebel, so why can't I? Only by rebelling will I be able to put aside this broom and become a leader again." He worked from dawn to dusk, stepped up his activities, established ties with middle-level cadres in the factory and planned a big banner--the "storm" rebel group. After this rebel group was established, it wrote one big-character poster after another, criticizing so-called "capitalist roaders" and pointing the spearhead of struggle at the plant's party committee, and provided the "rebel faction" with a large number of "heavy cannon shells."



In April 1968, the Qiqihar First Machine Tool Plant set up a revolutionary committee, and because Liu Peng "had rendered service to the rebellion," he was made chairman of the revolutionary committee of the design section.

### Persecuting the Innocent

After Liu Peng had regained authority in the design section, he took charge of the work "to purify the class ranks" and once again directed his spearhead at the engineer and technical personnel, willfully accusing them of being "traitors," "secret agents" and "active counterrevolutionaries" and ruthlessly persecuting them.

Liu Qi /0491 3823/, who was only 46 years old at that time, was a worker who had suffered extreme difficulties in the old society. After liberation, being educated by the party, he taught himself the Russian, English, German, Japanese and French languages and translated books and technical materials. He also independently studied higher mathematics and physics and designed and drew up the blueprints for nearly 20 machine tools, becoming an outstanding engineer. Even this kind of "both red and expert" engineer was labeled a "reactionary technical authority" by Liu Peng, who criticized and denounced him in an unbridled manner at a public meeting and sent him to a workshop for reform through labor. In a "self-vindication book" Liu Qi, with tears in his eyes, wrote:

"I have been struggled against. How am I to handle the knowledge I have painstakingly dug up and studied for nearly 20 years? I cannot let time slip by in vain. I will put in order the scientific knowledge I have learned."

Liu Qi had no idea at all, while he was writing with great concentration so as to continue to make his contributions to the people, that Liu Peng had put him on the namelist of "secret agents," organized his forces and was waging a more ruthless struggle against him. On the evening of 20 May 1968, just as an interrogation was about to end, a member of the "dictatorship team," seething with rage, entered Liu Qi's "self-examination room" and snatching up a big stick to beat him. Liu Qi screamed in pain incessantly.

Liu Qi could not bear this humiliation. On the evening of that day he shattered a glass of a window by butting his head against it and jumped from the second story of the building. When people discovered him, he was lying in a pool of blood. After being taken to a hospital, he said to the nurses: "I am dying. Quickly find my wife and children and bring them here. I have something to say to them." Liu Peng would not permit Liu Qi and his loved ones to see each other for the last time. Liu Qi said: "Liu Peng, I am not a secret agent. My death is unjust:" After speaking these words, he breathed his last.

Liu Qi's death did not make Liu Peng realize his error and show repentance; on the contrary, he intensified his persecution of the intellectuals. In 1967, technician Cheng Xianben /4453 0341 2609/ designed the C8102 rough-turning axle lathe. At that time he had only drawn a "whiteprint" of it and the design was not yet finalized. On reexamination of the design it was found to contain several technical errors. Unwilling to accept the explanation of other technicians, Liu Peng tried to force Cheng Xianben to admit that it was a case of "sabotage by an active counterrevolutionary." When Cheng Xianben would not admit this, Liu Peng extorted a confession by torture and locked him up in prison for 2 and one-half years.

Because Engineer Zhang Mingxian /1728 2494 6343/, at a technical appraisal meeting on Cheng Xianben's case, spoke the truth that "this was a case of technical errors and not an action by an active counterrevolutionary!" Liu Peng found him guilty of shielding an active counterrevolutionary. Zhang Mingxian was locked up in a "cowshed" for more than 5 months during which time he was repeatedly beaten, leaving many scars on his body.

Woman Eng Shao Suzhen /6370 4790 3791/ and Cheng Xianben were neighbors. Because she told Cheng Xianben's family the news about his being ferreted out and struggled against, she was also implicated. Liu Peng charged Shao Suzhen with the crime of "divulging secret information for a counterrevolutionary." Disregarding the fact that she had not recovered from massive hemorrhaging after an induced abortion, he pulled her out and criticized and denounced her at a public meeting, causing her bodily injury, the sequel of which remains to this day.

From April 1968 to November of the same year, more than 10 engineers and technicians in the design section led by Liu Peng were ferreted out and struggled against had their houses searched and their property confiscated and were locked up, beaten and interrogated in isolation, all of which caused extremely great physical and mental damage to them. Among them two persons lost their lives because of this.

#### Staging a Comeback

Not only did Liu Peng not receive his deserved punishment for framing and persecuting the engineers and technicians, but, on the contrary, he constantly won promotion--from chairman of the revolutionary committee of the design section, he was promoted to deputy director of the political department of the plant's trade union; afterward, he was promoted to the posts of deputy secretary of the party committee of the Qiqihar Municipal First Machinery Plant and of plant director. Just when he was making a rapid advancement in his career, like a clap of spring thunder the "gang of four," which had brought calamity to the country and the people, fell from power.

However, Liu Peng had a special skill: he was good at observing situations and adapting himself to changing conditions. After the "gang of four" was smashed, Liu Peng changed his strategy by switching from actively "engaging in revolution" to actively "engaging in production."

At that time, the Qiqihar First Machinery Plant had been twisted all out of shape by the 10 years of great calamity: worker discipline was slack, the production sequence was chaotic, tasks were not completed and the plant was also unbearably disordered in appearance. After taking up his posts, Liu Peng started "three fires in succession, which changed the features of this plant.

Liu Peng's "competence" in "boldly getting a grip on things and boldly managing them" was appreciated by certain leaders, and he was transferred from the Qiqihar First Machinery Plant, whose personnel numbered a little over 1,000, to the Qiqihar Municipal Agricultural and Animal Husbandry Vehicle General Plant, whose personnel numbered a little over 2,000, to be the party committee secretary there. Once Liu Peng took up his new post he adopted the pose of a reformer and not long afterward was selected to be the plant's director, so that all the party and governmental authority of the plant was held in the hands of one man--Liu Peng. The Liu Peng of this time also restored his "rebel's temperament;" he won over and combined factions and did not pay any attention at all to the party's organizations. If the directives of the Party Central Committee and the ideas of the higher-level leaders did not suit Liu Peng's purposes, he would defiantly not go along with them.

Huo [7202] so-and-so was the chief of a "rebel faction" during the "cultural revolution" and on many occasions led many people holding clubs, vee belts and other weapons in beating people, searching houses and confiscating property and extorting confessions by torture in the ruthless persecution of the cadres and masses. He incurred the bitter hatred of the people. Liu Peng first appointed this kind of person to be the deputy chief of the propaganda section and later also promoted him to be deputy director of the plant's party consolidation office. After the party consolidation work team of the municipal party committee went to the plant, it stated: "Hou so-and-so should not handle the later stage of party consolidation." Liu Peng paid no heed at all to the opinion of the party consolidation work team but continued to keep Huo so-and-so in the posts of plant director and office deputy director. When the case of Huo so-and-so was brought before the all-province forum on party consolidation, the leading comrades of the organization department of the provincial party committee and of the provincial discipline inspection commission said: During the "cultural revolution," Huo so-and-so engaged in the serious action of beating people, something which lowers the standards for party membership. Administratively, he should be dismissed from his leadership duties; organizationally, his party membership should be suspended for 1 year. Liu Peng still paid no attention. The party consolidation work

team again pointed out: "The question of Huo so-and-so is to be turned over to the party committee in implementing the procedures for organizational handling." Liu Peng not only took no notice of this but also decided to transfer Hu so-and-so to be deputy chief of the general affairs section at the Doqing construction site with a one-grade raise in pay. Under Liu Peng's protection, Huo so-and-so, swollen with arrogance, refused to admit his errors. He said: "The landlords and rich peasants have cast off their labels. What crime did I commit when I rebelled!"

During the "cultural revolution," Deng /6772/ so-and-so ferreted out, struggled against and locked up leading cadres and beat the masses. Once, in one night, with all sorts of accusations he ferreted out and struggled against 27 cadres and workers. Liu Peng obviously knew about the problem connected with Deng so-and-so, but he recommended him to be the head of a workshop and concurrently the secretary of its party branch. The higher-level leadership department said that Deng so-and-so should be dismissed from leadership duties, whereupon Liu Peng agreed. Not long afterward through, he appointed Deng so-and-so to be director of the fourth branch plant and concurrently secretary of its party branch. After discovering this, the municipal party committee reiterated: "Deng so-and-so cannot be used!" Liu Peng then had to make Deng so-and-so leave his leadership posts.

Liu Peng's ways of using personnel were as different as the waters on the Jinghe and Weihe Rivers--entirely different! Those who submitted to him prospered, those who resisted him perished--in other words, his ways were brutal and arbitrary. On the eve of the Spring Festival in 1981, Zhou Xuezhi /0719 1331 1807/, the head of the plant's armed forces department /militia/, went to Li Peng's office to report on work. Liu Peng was eating an apple sent as a gift to sick personnel while playing mahjong and with deputy plant directors. Zhou Xuezhi frowned upon this and said in criticism: "You are leaders, but you play mahjong during worktime, taking the lead in breaking rules. How can you talk about others?" In his heart Liu Peng bore a grudge over this incident. Not long after the festival, on the pretext of strengthening the grassroots, he transferred Zhou Xuezhi to the post of party branch secretary of a workshop a dozen li from the plant. The Armed Force Department of Qiqihar City did not agree with Liu Peng's decision. Not only did Liu Peng pay no attention to this, he also ordered the sealing up of the armed forces department and the turning in of Zhou Xuezhi's guns, effectively putting a stop to Zhou's work. This veteran comrade, who had been in the armed forces for more than 30 years, had to retire early at the age of 53. With regard to the handling of the question of Zhou Xuezhi, a deputy secretary of the plant's party committee who did not agree with Liu Peng's peremptory way of doing things, was also dismissed from his post by Liu Peng and sent away as "investigation and study personnel."

Every day Liu Peng had a car take him to and from work; every time he went on official business, he used public money for food and drink, and the plant's leading group had to go to the railway station to see him off and meet him upon his return. His family consisted of seven persons, who already had two houses, but he used the plant's money to purchase another house for his own residence. In September 1982, Liu Peng said he wanted to buy steel products. Leading several persons, he rode on airplanes and railway sleeping cars to Guangzhou and Shenzhen, where they traveled around and enjoyed the sights of the mountains and rivers for over a month. Not a single steel product did he buy and bring back, and he spent to no good purpose more than 2,000 yuan in renminbi. Nobody dared to concern himself about this situation.

#### Providing Food for Thought

After Liu Peng's errors were exposed, the Qiqihar City CPC Committee decided to take away his party membership and to dismiss him from all his posts inside and outside the party. After this news spread, all of the people who knew about Liu Peng were elated. However, besides being excited they pondered a problem, namely: Why could a person like Liu Peng be promoted to higher and higher positions?

A responsible comrade of a relevant quarter in Qiqihar City replied: "Some of our leading cadres only look at a cadre for a time and do not look at his whole history: they only look at his current behavior and do not look at his behavior during the 'cultural revolution;' and they only look at his 'competence' and do not look at his ideological character. Therefore, they let some figures like Liu Peng get their own way." This explanation is not without sense, and it is precisely an important reason why some units are not thorough in their checks on people.

Please listen to the answers of a certain responsible person of the Qiqihar First Machine Tool Plant:

Question: Have you examined the question of Liu Peng?

Answer: No, because Liu Peng has already been transferred from here.

Question: In 1978, the family members of the victims strongly demanded an investigation of those who beat people and those who pulled the strings behind the scenes. Did you turn over their accusatory materials of the departments concerned?

Answer: No, that was a time when policy was being implemented, and, as a rule, when policy is being implemented, an individual's responsibility is not looked into. Therefore, the accusatory material was not handed over to the departments concerned.

Question: During the "cultural revolution," six members of your plant died, and two of them were in Liu Peng's design section. Why was this not investigated?

Answer: During the "cultural revolution," Liu Peng only joined a small "rebel" organization, which did not leave its mark on our plant.

The answers given by this responsible person conceal a grim fact: some units and departments are not serious but are very irresponsible about their investigation work. Therefore, some persons who did a lot of bad things during the "cultural revolution" are able to conceal themselves and, through a disguise and pose, come back on stage.

This is the lesson provided to us by the whole story of the rise of this "rebel" figure.

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CSO: 4005/650

## NORTHEAST REGION

### PROPOSALS FOR 'FOUR TRANSFORMATIONS' OF CADRES

Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 5, May 84 pp 6-7

[Article by Li He [2621 0735]: "Four Transformations' Must Be Comprehensively Implemented"]

[Text] It is a strategic party policy to transform cadres in the new era so that they will be more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professional. These "four transformations" are at the heart of the implementation of the party's organizational line. Our firmness and comprehensiveness in carrying out the "four transformations will affect the outcome of the "four modernizations" and the long-term interests of both the party and the country. Therefore, we must try to understand this policy thoroughly and work on it seriously.

To meet the requirements of the policy of the "four transformations," we have earnestly readjusted the leading groups at the provincial, municipal, county and local levels in accordance with the work plans and uniform arrangements of the central authorities. Our work has produced some notable results: Leading groups at various levels have been trimmed in size, their average age has dropped and their educational standard and level of professional expertise have been raised. They have become a purer organization with an improved political quality and heightened combat capacity. Simultaneously, we have exchanged a number of cadres, thereby laying the basis for the future regularization and systemization of cadre exchange. However, the "four transformations" are a long-term objective which cannot be achieved overnight. We must remain firm and confident and continue our efforts to bring about the "four transformations" comprehensively. To achieve this, the following problems must be solved:

Clarify Cadre Standards for the New Era. The "four transformations" is only a general guideline indicating the direction for cadre work. It must be substantiated and made more practicable with a set of policies and regulations. Of particular importance is a deeper understanding and a better grasp of cadre standards. It has been our traditional policy to insist on both virtue and ability in the selection of cadres. However, the substance of virtue and ability varies over time. In the new historical era of socialist construction, what do virtue and ability consist of? At a ceremony celebrating the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. Ye

Jianying for the first time systematically spelled out the cadre standards: 1) A firm resolve to embrace the political and ideological lines of the party; 2) Impartiality and a determination to abide by the law and discipline, uphold the party spirit and stamp out factionalism; and 3) A strong revolutionary commitment and sense of political responsibility. Deng Xiaoping later pointed out: 1) The most important thing about virtue is a firm adherence to the socialist road and party leadership." "Ability means nothing more than professionalization, intellectual development, practical experience and strong physical endurance." He added: "What are the political standards in the selection of personnel? The ability to work for the good of the people and to contribute to socialism. This is the main political standard." With other leading central comrades, he later put forward the strategic policy of selecting cadres in accordance with their revolutionary spirit, age, intellectual standards and professional expertise. Thus we can see that the standards of virtue and ability in the selection of cadres have changed completely. We must now adapt to the new situation and make new demands of cadre work, striving to ensure that we and our ideological associates follow consistent recruitment policies.

Scientifically Understand and Comprehensively Grasp Cadre Standards of Virtue and Ability. The "four transformations" make up one organic whole; every component is indispensable. But the pre-eminent part is still revolutionization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly emphasized that youth, intellectual development and professionalization must take revolutionization as the major premise, pointing out that this is an overriding issue which will help determine who will run the nation. In examining and selecting cadres, we must place virtue ahead of ability. Ability must be considered in the context of virtue. On the one hand, we must guard against the tendency to neglect political qualifications. On the other hand, we must steer clear of the tendency to ignore ability. It is dangerous to entrust a high position to someone who is capable but not virtuous, while a virtuous but incompetent person cannot live up to the demands of the job. In fact, there is a dialectical unity between virtue and ability; through hard work, a cadre can achieve both qualities. We must grasp the dialectical unity between the two and firmly and correctly enforce the principle of dualism. Moreover, we must try to understand thoroughly each of the "four transformations." Concerning revolutionization, we must not dismiss liberated thinking, innovativeness and the courage to make suggestions as immaturity, instability, arrogance or complacency. Concerning the age of cadres, we must not look at age in isolation from other factors. As for intellectual development, we must work out the proper relationship between diplomas and standards and between intellectual knowledge and practical experience. While it helps for someone to have a diploma, we must not make it the sole criterion. We must also give weight to a cadre's real ability and practical experience. As for professionalization, we should ask different things of people in different positions, making the most of their strengths and avoiding their weaknesses. Particularly important are a cadre's organizational and managerial abilities. We must carefully measure the cadres' professional standards, but it is not simply a question of counting how many professionals there are in a group. Instead, we must ensure that the intellectual composition of the entire group is rational. Only by comprehensively and scientifically understanding and



grasping the new era's cadre standards can we accomplish the "four transformations."

Resolutely and Boldly Select and Recruit Cadres from Among Intellectuals. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed; "Empty talk cannot bring about modernization. Only knowledge and expertise can do so." "We must create in the party an atmosphere which respects knowledge and expertise. The erroneous idea of putting intellectuals down must be resisted." Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: "It takes knowledge and intellectuals to overthrow the old world, and it certainly takes knowledge and intellectuals to construct the new world." It may be said that the intellectual development and professionalization of leading groups and cadres are processes of slowly transforming all cadres into intellectuals and turning all leading members into intellectuals. With the development of socialist modernization, the main object of our cadre work in the future will also be intellectuals. Even now, however, some comrades have not yet liberated themselves from "leftist" thinking and continue to look down upon intellectuals. Denying that intellectuals are part of the proletariat, they resist the idea of selecting intellectuals and admitting them into a leading group. These and other mistaken actions and thoughts must be clarified and corrected. We must realize that without knowledge and intellectuals, there would be no leading group, no "four transformations" and no "four modernizations." As a result, we must raise our understanding of the importance of intellectuals, mobilize their initiative to the fullest, courageously bring into the leading groups whoever can be a leading cadre and encourage those who cannot take up leadership positions to make professional contributions.

Continue To Liberate Our Thinking, and Break New Ground in Cadre Work. To carry out the policy of the "four transformations," we also need the guarantees provided by relevant rules and regulations. However, we are still being hindered by some old conventions, old formulas and old ways of doing things. As a result, we must continue to liberate our thinking, carry out thorough reforms and develop the courage to innovate. In reforming the cadre management system, we should try to make it less restrictive, more efficient and more flexible. In reforming the cadre management staffing system, we should focus on the three key areas of "entry, management and exit." Serious efforts must be made to solve the leadership-for-life problem and to enforce the resignation and retirement systems. The system whereby elderly comrades retire to become consultants and inspectors must be followed. If they perform well, newly-appointed young comrades should be allowed to keep their jobs. Otherwise, they should resign voluntarily and take up other work. The composition of cadres must be gradually reformed to accommodate the needs of the "four transformations." An election system should be instituted for cadres at the grassroots level; experience gained in such elections can be used in future elections at higher levels. A reasonable degree of mobility among technical experts can be promoted through recruitment, self-recommendation and the practice of allowing a cadre to rejoin his unit. The exchange of cadres must be carried out in a planned way. We must gradually build up and perfect a personal responsibility system in party and government organs. The reform of the cadre system must be carried out in a steadfast, orderly and organized way under proper leadership. Cadre reforms must be

coordinated with reforms in the economic system and the personnel, labor, education and wage systems. Moreover, in any reform situation, we should take as our starting point the special circumstances of the case at hand. In situations covered by clear central regulations, the regulations must be followed. In situations where the central government has prescribed only the proper spirit, bold experimentation must be made. In situations where reforms are needed but where central authorities have given no explicit directives, exploration also must be actively pursued. We must take care to strengthen political and ideological work amidst all these reforms.

We must continue to strengthen leading groups at various levels in accordance with the policy of the "four transformations" and bring about the normalization of the cooperation and replacement of old and young organized groups as soon as possible. Our present organizational reform is being carried out in the context of the existing economic management system and constitutes only the first step. New cadre ranks that come into existence after the organizational reform will have basically a ladder-shaped age structure, a rational intellectual composition and a coordinated work system. But this will still fall short of what the party's "four transformations" require of its cadres. Reform can be drastic or moderate, and changes in the age structure, intellectual standard and professional composition can vary. New cadres have yet to be put through the trial of experience. Under these circumstances, we must persist with our reform policy to make it more scientific and rational. Under no circumstances should we retreat to the old ways. On the one hand, we must pay attention to relative stability, strengthen regular constructions, solve such problems as "too much paperwork, too many meetings" and "government remaining as complex as ever despite a reduction in personnel: and use the strengths of the new cadres to bring about a breakthrough. On the other hand, building on the basis of this organizational reform, we must develop a good grasp of the reform of the composition of leading groups at various levels in accordance with the policy of the "four transformations" and the need to build up the third-echelon leadership. We plan to complete by the end of 1985 the basic normalization of the replacement of old and new cadres and, by the end of 1990, the four transformations of leading cadres at various levels in all departments. Furthermore, through the establishment of a more complete system, we hope to keep the composition of the leading groups constantly rational.

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CSO: 4005/627

## NORTHWEST REGION

### SHAANXI GOVERNOR PROMOTES GROWTH, REFORM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 May 84 p 3

[Article: "Liberate Thinking, Boldy Reform, Administer the Province and Enrich the People"]

[Text] Reporter Ai Feng [5337 0023] reports: by advancing ideological liberation and stressing reform and the relaxation of restrictions, the invigoration of Shaanxi's economy could be well in view. This was stated confidently by the secretary of the Shaanxi Provincial Party Committee and Governor of Shaanxi Province, Li Qingwei [2621 1987 0251], who is now attending the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress.

There were a number of breakthroughs in the economy of Shaanxi last year: in a year of natural disasters, bumper harvests were obtained, and for the first time in 25 years, the province was more than self-sufficient in grain. Industrial production value increase 14.3 percent over the year before, with an increase in net production value of 1.5 billion yuan for the year. In addition, the rate and benefits of production increased apace. Financial conditions took a big turn for the better, while income exceeded the original plan by 120 million yuan.

Comrade Li Qingwei said: "Nevertheless, compared with the demands of creating a new situation, and compared to the advanced cities of this province, we still have quite a long way to go in our work." He listed several existing problems with leading ideology:

1) "Leftist" influences in economics have not been eliminated, people have not liberated their thinking, there are too many conventional ideas, and the pace of reform is too slow. For example, in terms of ownership, "large in size and collective in nature" is still influential. People only want to manage large enterprises or enterprises owned by the whole people, so that inadequate attention is paid to the economy of the collective and the individual. In terms of economic management, there is too much systemization and limitations are too strict. Enterprises have no authority to expand on their own and the burdens of the enterprises are too heavy. 2) Some comrades have conservative ideas, stick to old ways, refuse to make progress, are content with "fair to middling," and lack creative spirit. Several locales in northern and southern Shaanxi even now have no concept of commodity production and no

country fair trade. Some counties have a longstanding habit of living off financial subsidies. 3) Some locales have still not completely changed over to emphasizing economic construction, nor have they made raising economic benefits their main course. 4) The habitual influence of small-scale production maintains a serious presence and there has been no basic change in "one thing at a time" management thinking. 5) There has not been enough courage in importing things from elsewhere (including importing things from outside the country or from the seacoast). Fields of vision have not been broad, there is too much apprehension, and basically the situation has not opened up. 6) The neglect of technical progress is still very serious, and the relatively superior strength of science and technology has not been brought into full play. 7) Styles of work are not sound; there is too much talk and too little done. There are some situations where resolutions are made and documents issued, but still no one pays attention to putting them into effect. The masses criticize this as "waking up early, getting up slowly, and going out late."

It should be said that the economic invigoration of Shaanxi enjoys several exceptionally advantageous conditions. One of the nation's largest coalfields is in northern Shaanxi, with reserves of 230 billion tons; the province as a whole currently produces over 700,000 kilowatts of electricity; and the Qinling mountain range has rich mineral resources of nonferrous metal such as molybdenum, gold, silver and copper. In addition, Shaanxi has excellent natural resources for tourism and a considerable number of talented people in science and technology.

After enumerating these advantages, Comrade Li Qingwei said: "The key lies in our doing good work. These days, we representatives of Shaanxi Province must, on the one hand, discuss government work reports and, on the other, consider how to implement the spirit of the meetings afterward." He told this reporter that from now on a great deal of effort will be expended for reform at all levels in the cities, with priority given to Xian. As the countryside "surrounds" the cities, if reform can be promoted satisfactorily in the cities, it could bring along development in the countryside. Enterprises under provincial administration should be transferred down to the city level, where the organization of the economy would be unified. Enterprises with the right to expand should attend to a system of economic responsibility. At the same time, they should study the Chongqing experience and set up trade centers. Supply and marketing cooperatives in the countryside should break through restrictions by drawing the peasantry in as shareholders. Cadres should expand their sphere of management and service by truly achieving elective production. Steps to relax restrictions should be somewhat bigger. Li Qingwei said that Xian could be established as an experimental site for the lifting of restrictions in an inland city, with special policies carried out in certain areas, to develop a foundation in the northwest.

"To free ourselves from old ideas, to relax restrictions of policy, to courageously reform, and to govern Shaanxi so as to enrich the people. With these standards we should not fear taking on risks, and if we concentrate to the last, in three to five years there will be a great transformation." In his capacity as one of the principal leaders of the province, he ended with this demonstration of his own resolve.

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ZHANG'S U.S. VISIT DOES NOT MEAN U.S.-CHINA ACCOMMODATION

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 13 Jun 84 p 4

/Article by Karl Kraenzle, datelined Peking 12 June: "Making a Virtue Out of Lack of Modern Weapons"/

/Text/ Whenever U.S. politicians indicated sporadically in recent years that Washington was willing to sell certain armaments to Peking, the Chinese reacted each time noncommittally and with polite restraint. Official commentaries stated regularly that China could not make modernization of its armed forces dependent on purchases of highly-sophisticated weapons systems in the West. In recent days, this truism could be read and heard especially frequently. This time it is in connection with Chinese Defense Minister Zhang Aiping's visit to the United States. Of course, if China had no interest whatsoever in U.S. weapons, then Zhang could have saved himself the trip.

A potential aggressor would have to fear the striking power of the Chinese Army far less than the problems connected with an occupation of China. The Chinese themselves like to illustrate these circumstances graphically. They would let the enemy come very close, and then they would "swallow" him up and drown him in a sea of guerrillas. During U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger's visit last year, the Chinese leadership demonstrated just how much validity this concept of a traditional people's war still possesses. The Chinese showed him a troop of rural infantrymen who are trained in hand-to-hand combat and whose self-control and physical abilities are probably unexcelled by any other armed forces in the world.

The demonstration was also of symbolic significance. Weinberger was shown, indirectly, that China has only a limited interest in the type of military cooperation which the U.S. secretary of defense wants. Although the Chinese are aware that the armaments sector must be included in the current modernization process, the emphasis continues to be on training foot soldiers who grow their own rice, make their own noodles, raise chickens and pigs, and also produce bicycles, in addition to many other goods. Because of this high degree of self-sufficiency, for example, it is impossible to compare Chinese defense spending with corresponding expenditures of other countries.

The frequent extolling of a concept which proved successful decades ago, first in the fight against the Japanese and then in the victory over Chiang Kai-shek's

troops, cannot obscure the fact that the Chinese hereby make a virtue of necessity. The People's Liberation Army consists of about 160 divisions. More than 120 divisions are "old-fashioned" infantry units; then there are some artillery and a dozen tank divisions. The air and naval forces constitute less than one-fifth of all troops on active military duty. To transform these troop units into a creditable deterrent force, such as smaller countries like France and Great Britain possess today, would swallow such enormous amounts of money that the country's economic development would suffer great damage. Peking wants to avoid that, and this is also one of the reasons why the concept of a people's war is being propagandized time and again.

Supposing China were attacked militarily, the country would first need a certain amount of time to organize such a people's war in which the aggressor is "swallowed" and drowned in a sea of guerrillas. In turn, this would presuppose a modernization of the air force, air and tank defense, and the navy. There are Western military experts who claim, for example, that China could make effective use of its air force "only during good weather," which in case of war would deprive the ground troops of the necessary air support during bad weather. Antitank defense is also totally antiquated. Antitank weapons are still widespread which would be largely suicidal for the soldiers using them.

There are many indications that the Chinese are trying, first of all, to establish an industrial base on which they can finally progress to a modernization of weapons for the People's Liberation Army. Until that point is reached, it may well come to isolated weapons purchases in the West. The present visit by Chinese Defense Minister Zhang is probably an indicator of such a possibility

At present, however, modernization of arms does not have priority. If one studies statements by prominent Chinese military men, then "streamlining" is put in the foreground of army reform. The number of soldiers on active duty--more than 4 million--is to be reduced in favor of a reserve force that can be quickly mobilized. Another urgent task is seen in building up a younger officer corps. And then there is the problem of the so-called troop morale which has dropped--because the People's Liberation Army has suffered a certain loss of power and prestige in recent years--and which is to be lifted with the aid of the recently decided reintroduction of insignias of rank, dashing new uniforms, and the formation of a well-paid volunteer elite corps.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

### BUREAUCRATISM IN KUNMING MILITARY REGION UNIT COMBATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 84 p 5

[Article: "Logistics Department of Kunming Military Region Combats Bureaucratism"]

[Text] In the course of party consolidation, the logistics department party committee of the Kunming Military Region thoroughly analyzed the concrete manifestations of bureaucratism in the unit, recognized its perniciousness and formulated countermeasures. This practice of simultaneous consolidation and rectification in connection with real situations should be promoted.

When studying party consolidation documents, the party committee of the logistics department of the Kunming Military Region linked them with the reality of the unit and thoroughly analyzed the numerous manifestations of bureaucratism:

1. Abusing Power and Issuing Arbitrary Orders. Some cadres replace policies and systems with power and make the words of those in high positions count. They make plans on the important issues of the troops without careful consideration, arbitrarily veto the decisions of the lower level without clarifying the circumstances and meddle and interfere in matters beyond their jurisdiction. When a warehouse started to build an underground storehouse, for instance, some individual leaders, ignorant of the geological conditions, arbitrarily designated a location. After excavation was started, it was discovered that the spot was on a fault, and the work had to be relocated.
2. Overbearing and Sounding off in Official Jargon. Some cadres play the "big shot." When people from the basic units come on business, they are cold and indifferent, instead of receiving them warmly.
3. Making Irresponsible Remarks. Picking up rumors and hearing the words of one side, some cadres give arbitrary lectures. Especially in regard to criticizing the backward and evaluating the advanced, some leaders rely on subjective impressions and one-sided understanding and make arbitrary decisions, resulting in unfair rewards and punishments.

4. Tackling All Major and Minor Matters. Some leaders have no plans for their work, make no distinction of primary and secondary and seek no efficiency. Others give no attention to coordination between departments, making it difficult for their subordinates to know what to do.

5. Removing Themselves from the Masses and Reality. Some cadres hear reports in their offices and hold meetings and issue documents on all major and minor matters, creating "mountains of documents and oceans of meetings." According to statistics, the logistics organ of the Kunming Military Region held 86 meetings of all kinds and issued 2,892 documents last year. Some leaders do not go to the basic level and have no idea of the feelings of the masses.

6. Evading Contradictions and Passing the Buck. Some cadres like to appear in the limelight on matters which are easily handled and advantageous to them. But when it comes to contradictions and problems, they shift the responsibility back and forth, stall along without decision and leave them unsettled for the future. A certain department ordered in 1966 a batch of lumber from the Xinping forestry bureau with an allocation of 27,000 yuan. To date, the lumber has not been delivered, nor has the money been refunded. In 18 years, no one has shown any interest.

7. Making Superficial Observations and Following Formalism. Skimming the surface of the water like a dragonfly, some people are unwilling to stay in the basic-level units. When the basic-level units submit requests, some of them make promises on the spot but ignore them completely afterward. Others claim that they go down to the basic level, but actually visit the mountains and waters.

8. Being Superficial and Irresponsible. They either utter hollow and false words, reporting only the good but not the bad, or listen to whatever is reported by the lower level and believe whatever they hear. Others are irresponsible, doing their work in a perfunctory manner, marking the incoming documents with a circle and putting them aside after glancing at the titles.

By means of analysis, the comrades of the logistics department of the military region recognized the tremendous harm of bureaucratism to the party, military and social styles. In the discussions, they proposed three remedies: firmly establishing the idea of serving the people heart and soul, continuously purging the feudal vestiges, and establishing and strengthening the responsibility system in organ work and changing the "soft, scattered and lazy" state of the leading groups of the various levels.

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MAJOR PRC POLITICAL ISSUES ANALYZED

Hong Kong MING PAO YUEH KAN [MING PAO MONTHLY] in Chinese Vol 19, No 6,  
Jun 84 pp 20-26

[Article by Li Hong [2621 7703]: "Four Major Political Issues in the  
PRC Today"]

[Text] I. Differences over Ideology and Theory Among Cadres

Political, economic and social life in Mainland China underwent a drastic change between the Great Cultural Revolution and the recent modernization drive. If anyone claims that this change could not lead, or has not led, to any acrimonious controversy among the broad masses of cadres, such a claim can hardly gain any credence. Policies can be changed overnight, but the theoretical basis for such policies cannot be changed readily. The present power holders have stressed the need for economic construction and declared that there will be no large-scale political movement or class struggle in the future. We, after all, do not know if the serious consequences of stressing class struggle over a long period have awakened them to the realities. However, if they are aware that they cannot adopt the method of removing political obstacles before talking about economic construction without the advantages afforded by the "gang of four" or the indisputable authority of Mao Zedong, they have to place their hopes on achievements in economic construction as a means to win popular support and to establish their prestige. In any case, one thing is certain: many policies and decrees from the new power holders have led to a series of acrimonious controversies among the cadres at various party and governmental levels.

According to the logic of Deng Xiaoping and the other leaders, the concentration of resources on economic construction will naturally preclude the continuation of political revolution and class struggle. To convince people that it is correct to refrain from stressing class struggle once again, it is undoubtedly necessary that people should first be convinced that the class contradiction is no longer the principal contradiction in the country. This is certainly a serious theoretical test for those Communist Party members who confine themselves within the scope of Marxism.

Although they have made the utmost effort to include the words "the exploiting classes as such have been eliminated in our country" in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" and later in the new state constitution, it does not mean that they have emerged victorious in the theoretical controversy on this issue. The "elimination of exploiting classes as such" as a final conclusion is not only contrary to basic Marxist tenets but also incompatible with the "four firm adherences" which, they stressed, could not be abandoned. This issue can be analyzed from two different angles. First, since the exploiting classes as such have been eliminated, the exploited classes on the opposite side would no longer exist for the reason that without the bourgeoisie, there cannot possibly be any proletariat. Under such conditions, any division of the society into "classes," if such a division must be carried out, can only be based on trades and professions, and so there would be the worker class, peasant class, teacher class, government servant class and so forth. Only such "classes" can be obviously nonantagonistic, since everyone will be classified as the "people." The contradictions among them should be considered as contradictions among people, and nobody can exercise dictatorship over others. Such an analysis will negate not only the continuation of the proletarian dictatorship but also "class dictatorship" by any name.

Although the so-called exploiting classes as such have been eliminated, the elements of the exploiting classes will continue to exist as individuals for a fairly long time to come, and that is why class dictatorship is still necessary. This line of argument cannot stand refutation. No matter whether the so-called elements of the exploiting classes refer to those who have previously, but not now, exploited others or those new exploiters emerging under the new economic policies, their number should be very small (and, indeed, those of the former type have mostly died off.) Therefore, it is entirely possible for the state to deal with them according to common law without actually exercising a class dictatorship. Furthermore, according to Marxism, "class dictatorship" should be a means for one class (the ruling class) to control another. It means one class dealing with another class, but not with individuals.

At the same time, according to Marxist theories, the state, as a political instrument, will exist until the elimination of antagonist classes, and as soon as the antagonistic classes disappear, the "state" itself will also disappear. Since there are now no exploiting classes as opponents in China, class antagonism has practically disappeared. What deserves to be reiterated is that the various types of the "people's public enemy" appearing as individuals do not constitute a class. In fact, Marxists have never denied that even in the age of communism, there will still be a small number of "troublemakers." However, since it will not be necessary to exercise a class dictatorship over them or even to preserve the "state" as a political instrument in dealing with them, does it mean that China can enter, or has already entered, the age of communism?

To prove the correctness of the theory of continued proletarian dictatorship on the grounds that although exploiting classes as such have been eliminated,

class struggle has to continue for some time to come, the reformist theorists have often pointed to the existence of class enemies abroad and of certain influences from the ideology of the exploiting classes in the society at home. Unfortunately, they seem to have forgotten two factors in advancing this line of reasoning. First, as long as aggression is not committed, the political power of any country cannot extend beyond its national boundaries, and China can neither deal with foreign "class enemies" nor use the preservation of a class dictatorship as a pretext to prevent Chinese people from being corroded by the foreign enemy's ideology. As long as antagonistic classes do not exist, there should be no class dictatorship in the country.

Second, it is obviously inconsistent with Marxist principles to regard an ideological struggle -- waged to eradicate the ideological influence of the exploiting classes -- as class struggle. Class ideology cannot be equated to a class. It is quite common that the ideology of the exploiting classes exists among the exploited classes. Can a Marxist actually regard the elimination of the ideology of the exploiting classes among the exploited classes as class struggle?

Obviously, the reformists may not gain the upper hand in such theoretical controversies mainly because while approving something that is contrary to Marxism-Leninism, they are also compelled to disguise themselves with Marxist-Leninist theories. As a result, the more they explain, the more confused are the people. There are many similar instances as shown in the controversies over the political essence of concrete policies, over the concrete methods of setting right the relationship between the party and the government in order to accomplish "political democracy," over the relationships between politics and economy and between consciousness and matter, over the role of individual leaders and over the pros and cons of cadre policies. In almost all these controversies, the reformists have always found it difficult to defend their own theories and, as a result, have failed to convince the people. This is certainly unfavorable to their reform program.

## II. Improving the Relationship Between the Party and the Government To Achieve Political Democracy

In the past several years, the reformists have all along advocated collective leadership and separation between the party and the government. Collective leadership, in some people's opinion, is inevitable after the demise of a big dictator in a dictatorial regime. Under normal circumstances, a dictator, while still alive, would not willingly groom his own successor (except perhaps his immediate relative.) He would not establish the prestige of the successor in advance for a smooth takeover upon his death. Thus as soon as the dictator is gone, the regime will be without a leader, and before the final outcome of a power struggle, collective leadership for the division of power would be the usual phenomenon. The duration of this phenomenon mainly depends on how balanced can be the potential of the contestants in the power struggle. The more unbalanced the potential, the

shorter will be the life of the collective leadership. At present, there is still no sign that the balance at the top level in the CPC will end. Therefore, the collective leadership will continue.

However, if analyzed from the theoretical standpoint, the so-called collective leadership in purely administrative work is obviously inconsistent with the many complex and interrelated administrative jobs in a modern society. The society is now continuing its democratic trend, but methods embodying democracy do not come from a multi-leader administrative system. In fact, collective leadership does not mean democracy in a broad sense. The so-called collective leadership means only a division of work among several people, while genuine democracy means the "people's participation in state administration." Can it be reasonably claimed that the concentration of power on one Mao Zedong means dictatorship and that the division of power among 10 Mao Zedongs (of course, not all of them are named Mao Zedong) means democracy? People desiring to participate in state administration usually try to gain decision-making power and supervisory power. In actual administration, they generally agree to let the administrators possess due authority, since this is a matter of administrative efficiency. If we want to restrict dictatorial power and to reduce the chance of error by advocating collective leadership instead of any fundamental and realistic democratic reform, we could only produce multilateral restrictions with adverse effects on efficiency and gain no real benefit. The passion for possession and power is a human instinct. This was true in the past, is true now and will continue to be true at least in the foreseeable future. The division of power among many leaders without external supervision can only create even more acute power struggles.

On the issue of separation between the party and the government, some people are actually inclined to the view that rather than any political reform in the interests of the party and the state, this division should be considered as a means used by Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues to weaken the power holders, large and small, in various localities and units.

Everyone knows that if the separation between the party and the government is smoothly carried out at all levels, the result could only be as follows: either the party's leadership over administration will be weakened or nullified, or the secretaries and even members of party committees at all levels will become mere figureheads. Real power will be in the hands of those having the title of administrative officers but not of those having the title of secretaries. In this event, the party's leadership over state administration will be exercised not through those with the titles of secretaries but those administrative officers who are party members and are directly appointed at the higher leadership levels. In the latter case, the chairman of state must be a loyal party member instead of someone chosen by the people in a democratic election. Under such circumstances, the chairman of the Party Central Committee will become a figurehead if he possesses no real power in the appointment or election of the chairman of state. The reason is quite simple. If the party is separated from the government (in a genuine and thoroughgoing way from the central down to the basic levels), the administrative officers at each level will theoretically be responsible to

the administrative officers at the next higher level or to their own electors (if they have been elected by the people.) Then the party committee secretary at the same level or the next higher level will be powerless over them. Under such conditions, if the state really practices democratic election, the party can hardly find any way to ensure its leading position in the state apparatus aside from befriending the electors in the hope that more party members could be elected.

From this, we can see that the separation between party and government and the strengthening of party leadership are in a certain sense mutually contradictory. Despite the great efforts of the reformists to conceal this contradiction in theory, their argument can hardly be convincing.

The reformists may, for example, insist that party leadership over state affairs is mainly manifested in the assurance that all party principles and policies are properly implemented and that ideological education is properly carried out among the party members and the broad masses of people, and not in the party's involvement in routine administrative affairs. From this argument, they draw the conclusion that the separation between party and government will not interfere with the party's leadership over the state. Unfortunately, while offering this explanation, they totally forget, or deliberately evade, some most essential questions, such as to what extent will the position of the party committee secretaries be reduced after the separation between party and government? As soon as the party is separated from the government, on what can the party committee secretaries rely to ensure the necessary implementation of party principles and policies? For example, if the party committee secretary at a certain level discovers that the administrative officer at the same level, or the next lower level, fails to act in accordance with the spirit of party policies, should he or can he have the power of direct intervention? If he actually has such power, who can prevent him from abusing this power and violating the principle behind the separation? If the secretary does not have this power, what can he do? Should he report to the administrative officer at a higher level and request action? If the administrative officers at both levels feel the same way, what can the secretary do? If he reports the matter to the party committee at the next higher level, this party committee would likewise be powerless to intervene in administration.

As to ideological work among the party members and the broad masses of people, one of the most essential problems is that once the party loses its real power of control over administration, it has also forfeited its qualification to act in the capacity of tutors.

In fact, the most serious mistake made by Communist Party members is that they regard themselves forever as other people's tutors, as the personification of truth and as the sole representative of the people's interests. In their opinion, the people not believing in the correctness of their faith or behavior today will certainly believe it tomorrow, the day after tomorrow or eventually. Furthermore, if the people's way of thinking or action is different from theirs, it is always the people, not the Communists.

themselves, who should be educated and remolded. It is precisely on such a ground that Communist Party members establish themselves as the proletarian vanguard and the saviors of mankind and find a theoretical basis for their claim to permanent leadership over others. Unfortunately, this Communist style has been subjected to the inexorable test of age.

### III. The Unfinished Power Struggle

Of the present 39 million members of the CPC, the overwhelming majority joined the party during or after the Cultural Revolution. They are rather radical in political ideology and can never be reconciled with the reformists. On the other hand, a large number of people were admitted into the party on a "crash basis" in recent years, and many of these people are intellectuals with more conservative or basically anticommunist ideas. This is the method used by the new powerholders to equalize the left and right wings in the party. The so-called party rectification is in fact another step to eliminate the leftist forces so that the rightist forces can gradually gain preponderance in the party.

However, while all-out efforts are being made in party rectification, the development in various regions and units cannot deviate from either one of these two patterns: first, perfunctory action taken amid a hue and cry but yielding no tangible result; and, second, the purge of alien elements and the appointment of trusted persons in the name of party rectification by local ruffians in certain localities. The rectification has thus become a public scandal and the ultimate result be on an out-and-out power struggle. Instead of doing the party any good, this rectification will increase the element of unrest and bring even more serious destruction.

In fact, Deng Xiaoping and his colleagues should be able to understand that the CPC no longer has a unified will. With actual deeds and concrete principles and policies, the new power holders, as the mainstays of the party rectification movement, have already negated the political theories with which the party members used to strengthen their solidarity. Under such conditions, the party's solidarity has lost the theoretical foundation commonly accepted. Aside from the leaders' personal prestige and the party members' craving for power, nothing else can serve as a bond for their solidarity. Party rectification under such conditions can hardly accomplish anything aside from intensifying the intraparty power struggle.

Judging from China's present conditions, we can see at least four major factors in the continued intensification of the power struggle:

First, the dictatorial nature of the political system. Under this system, power has a particularly strong lure for people, and the people joining the power struggle are particularly numerous. Since the system itself does not permit them to attain their goals through "peaceful competition," a resort to violence is the only alternative. This method has greatly increased the element of brutality in the power struggle. The defeated party has to make every preparation for a comeback, while the victorious party has to

consolidate his gains, lest he may be toppled and pulverized. Therefore, he must continue to apply pressure against his opponent even to the point of extermination. This determines the protracted nature of the power struggle.

Furthermore, because of the particularly strong lure of power and the brutality used in the power struggle under the dictatorial system, those who have been drawn into the whirlpool of struggle must protect their positions by recruiting people from both the upper and lower levels and form alliances with those around them. As a result, the number of cliques and factions increased, while uncalled for or unexpected clashes can take place at any time and in any place. Whatever may have been their original intention, people will finally be pushed into the quagmire of the power struggle.

Second, the existence of what Dr Sun Yat-sen called "people of foresight" in any society and any age. These people would try to find some way to give play to their own abilities and wisdom. If they live in an enlightened society, they may not always look for their opportunities on the political stage, because they can become capitalists, musicians, artists or even movie stars. The attraction of these professions would be greater than that of a political career. As long as these born leaders do not flock to the political stage, the power struggle will be less severe.

However, such is not the situation in China now. In Chinese society, a person without political power may be entirely helpless. If he wants to be an author or an artist, the politicians will first set up all sorts of rules and conventions to tie his hands. If he fails to meet the required standards, he can never hope to see his work published and may even lose his life. If he wants to become a factory manager or a business magnate, he may be arrested, repudiated or attacked before his ideas could be put to good use. It is true that there is a tendency of the new policies of the reformists to reverse this situation, but it is doubtful whether the implementation of these policies can continue smoothly. (This point will be dealt with at greater length when the economic issue is discussed later.) In any case, the reform is still far short of its goal of materially reversing the situation. Under such circumstances, all talented people in the society have nowhere else to go except the political stage. This naturally leads to more conflicts and struggles.

Third, the Chinese people's innate fraternal feelings. Chinese people always say: "Scholars are not afraid of dying for their good friends" and this kind of traditional "loyalty" is precisely what careerists of all types want. At any time and in any place, they would show you some warm "friendship" for which you will unavoidably feel indebted to them and follow them. Thus a visible or invisible faction is formed, and, wittingly or unwittingly, you will become a tool of others in the power struggle. Chinese society will witness more overt or covert tragedies.

Fourth, the political realities in Chinese society which have tragically created many large and small political groups. Regardless of their motives,



such as the defense of their political convictions (which is the most legitimate one,) the greed for individual power or the struggle for survival under the shadow of the opponent's sword, all members of these groups will be drawn into the whirlpool of political power struggle.

Among these groups or factions, leaving out the minor ones, people cannot possibly forget the military men of Lin Biao's faction; the Cultural Revolution warriors of Jiang Qing's clique; the "whatever" faction which professed loyalty to Mao Zedong's line without allegiance to Jiang Qing; the military and political figures with traits of localism, old fraternal ties and no clearcut political stands, now around Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5381]; and those marshals like Xu Shiyu [6079 0013 0645] and Wei Guoqing [7297 0948 3237] who have lost their power and influence and are now only "serving the interests of others." All these major groups are factions which everyone knows constitute a very serious threat to the reformists now in power, and trouble may occur at any time. Furthermore, among the reformists themselves, the division of power and disputes over the scope and tempo of the reform have also created many contradictions resulting in many open or secret factions.

The situation may be best described in the CPC's own words: "At present, factionism is not shown openly as it was before. There are now 'mountain strongholds in the open and submerged shoals in the dark.' There are also factions consisting of the remnants of the 'gang of four' as well as people who have grouped together out of personal favors or grudges. These factions normally cannot be seen, but they will appear whenever there is any sign of trouble."

"Do not believe that since the 'gang of four' has been overthrown for many years, all problems should have been automatically solved and that it is now time to talk about stability and unity and to look forward." In fact, "even now, there is serious impurity in organization and ideology" in many units and departments.

Although the Party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the need to purify the leading bodies at all levels, many units have not only failed to remove the three types of persons (namely, those who rose to eminence by following Lin Biao and the "gang of four," those who are seriously factionalist in their ideas and those who resist the reformist line) from their leading posts but are also retaining them for even heavier responsibilities. "The reason is that in these units, these 'three types of persons' are still holding real power and are extremely unhappy with the Central Committee's decision to remove the 'three types of persons' from office. In order that they may continue to hold their leading positions, they have formed cliques and factions and have installed their cohorts around them."

"These people still retain their rebellious temper. They neither follow the organizational line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee nor comply with the directives of the State Council. Swaggering and throwing their weight around, they are ordering people about and



performing various misdeeds in the way they did before." Some people have written articles of exposure. "As soon as these articles were published in the newspapers, the writers would receive threatening phone calls. From this, we can see that some of the 'comrades of the good old days' are still around and not reconciled to defeat. Although hiding in the dark, they are still very arrogant. How could such things have happened? Simply because they have back-stage supporters and therefore need not fear anything."

#### IV. Political Pressure from People at Home and Abroad

Because of the dramatic change of policies and the serious weakening of its controlling power, the CPC and its political power are now laboring under serious tribulation and are being subjected to a severe political test. The internal troubles have already been discussed. (These troubles should have included the serious factionalism among the military men in various regions and their disunity with the leadership which has almost reached the point of rebellion. I do not intend to deal with the details of this problem here and have simply treated them as part of the power struggle and factional feud.) It is also under pressure from domestic and foreign sources. Judging from the development of the overall situation, it is difficult to see how Communist China could reverse the present trend.

To reverse this trend, the first requirement is to remove the sources of pressure. From what has been analyzed, people can easily understand why Communist China cannot even hope to end its internal troubles. Furthermore, "since the party has committed errors, particularly the prolonged errors affecting the overall situation during the Cultural Revolution, the people have no more faith in the party's ability to lead the people in building a strong and prosperous state." Under such conditions, on what ground can we believe that the CPC can easily eliminate the various types of pressure coming from both domestic and foreign sources at the same time?

Which type of pressure now faced by Communist China is more serious after all? Let us take a look.

First, we will discuss the pressure created on Communist China by the upsurge of democratic and liberal ideas among the people.

We may say that the political pressure in Mainland China now is mainly attributed to the unprecedented upsurge of democratic and liberal ideas among the people, especially the younger generation. This upsurge may be explained as the result of the quest for freedom -- which is a human instinct -- and the effects of politics on people's economic and cultural lives in a modern society. The stronger these effects, the more eager will the people be for participation in political affairs, and this trend will continue along with the formation of a more widespread democratic ideology. According to an analysis of the realities inside China, the cause of the upsurge may be briefly described as follows:

(1) This is a type of reaction to the prolonged despotic rule which has prevailed since the founding of Communist China.

(2) The weakening of the ruling clique's controlling power has revitalized democratic and liberal ideas.

(3) The "extensive democracy" and "extreme freedom" experienced during the Cultural Revolution have their aftereffects on the society.

(4) As a result of the open-door policy, democratic and liberal ideas from abroad have a more direct and sweeping impact on China.

(5) Before seizing power from the "whatever" clique, Deng Xiaoping took the lead in advocating "democracy" in order to win over the people and to deal with the clique at the same time. This "democracy" has provocative effects on people's minds.

Now let us see which type of democracy and freedom are the people in China hoping for and what means will they use to obtain them.

First, let us read a passage from a speech by Bai Hua [4101 2901], the novelist. In his speech entitled "Without a Breakthrough, There Will Be No Literature," he said: "Recently, some people have seriously criticized the conditions of literary creation in the 3 years following the smashing of the 'gang of four.' They often asked: 'What do you want?' This question requires an unequivocal answer. What do we want? We want to restore the pragmatic tradition in the sphere of literature and art in China! We also want to recover the most elemental function of literature and art in reflecting social life.... The missions of authors and artists have been given them by history, and anyone violating the law of historic progress by applying pressure on literature and art in serving his own political interests will ultimately fail. We must not overlook the phenomena rarely seen in history. We must study how they have occurred and developed as well as the instances of astounding success and tragic and ignominious failure."

In literature and art, people like Bai Hua have committed the error of having a "bourgeois liberalization tendency." Politically, they are charged as deviating from the principles of party spirit and the party's policies and stand. "They regarded the four principles as symbols of forbidden zones and declared their intention to break through these zones. The appropriate requirement that 'social effects' must be noted in literature and art was considered as restrictions on creative work. According to them, the party should not control literature and art, lest there will be no future in this field. They also propagated the theories of bourgeois humanity and human rights and advocated the so-called human value, human dignity and human liberty, while socialism was described as a system designed to suppress human nature."

There are also "people infatuated with anarchism. They give no thought at all to the destiny of the state and the people.... They were, and still are, rebels. After all, they only rebel against the party leadership."

"A small number of people are seeking after ultra-democracy and using the bourgeois standpoint, viewpoint and methods to handle elections. Some of them have even used a bourgeois democratic platform as an electioneering stunt; others have indulged in anarchism by boycotting and opposing the orderly

and well-led democratic elections which they branded as undemocratic. Still others have formed factions and cliques during the elections."

Some people want to have the multi-party system, parliamentary system and electoral system of the bourgeoisie "mechanically transplanted to socialist China." Others regard China's present socialism as feudal socialism and declare that there should be another "democratic revolution." "What is the purpose of another democratic revolution after all...? To overthrow the Communist Party?"

From these remarks, we can clearly see that the democratic movement in the country now, with regard to its goals as well as actions, has already developed to a certain extent and intensity. It has (as viewed by Communist China, at least) gone far beyond the limits of a reform movement and has assumed the dimensions of revolutionary action. This is certainly intolerable to the ruling authorities. They have responded to it with strong measures as shown by the arrests of some (such as Wei Jingsheng [7614 0079 3932] and Fu Yuehua [0265 2588 5478]) and the execution of others (mostly those who have carried out both revolutionary and criminal activities including some who have apparently committed social crimes under the camouflage of democratic revolution.) The authorities have also solved some social problems in a way advantageous to the democratic reformists (such as the redressing some longstanding unjust, wrong and false cases.) The state's economic improvement under the new policies means a certain setback for the democratic movement. However, it still cannot be defeated or destroyed, and its pressure on Communist China remains unabated.

Another hidden danger, not so threatening as a democratic revolution right now, is that some people with a strong resentment against the Chinese Communist regime have learned from personal experiences that unless the existing regime is overthrown by revolutionary means, nothing can be gained. Taking advantage of the flexible policies, the social unrest and the weakening of the ruling authorities' controlling power, they are now engaging in liaison and organizational work everywhere. These people consist of the sons and brothers of high-ranking cadres who have lost their power and influence and the offspring of the so-called "five-category elements" (namely, landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and rightists.) People of the former type have a better knowledge of the internal structure of the Communist regime and its political weaknesses, and their call for action is more effective because of their family connections. Therefore, they are also in the leading positions in various types of movement. People of the latter type are more numerous. They hate Communist China more bitterly and have a stronger will. They are widely spread out at the basic levels in society and constitute a serious potential threat to Communist China.

Through the past 30 years and more, China has never stopped talking about class struggle at home even for a single day. The persistence and brutality of such struggle have been the cause of humanly intolerable hardship for the family members and relatives of the "five-category elements" (and, needless to say, these elements themselves.) Thus, subconsciously or unconsciously, they find it difficult to coexist with such a regime, even though the new

power holders have proclaimed that there will be no more large-scale class struggle and have even removed 90 percent (and 99 percent in some areas) of the "five-category element" labels in the past several years along with the announcement that these people and their family members will not be politically persecuted in future.

However, the feeling of being discriminated against, the inferior complex and personal rancor, accumulated and deepened over several decades, cannot be wiped out with only an announcement. In fact, the new policies can produce only two aftereffects: In some places where the power holders' controlling power is strong and the social order is fairly stable, the environments of "class enemies" and their dependents cannot be much improved. In other places where the political control is weak, it is true that the "class enemies" have been completely liberated. Most of these "liberated persons" have lingering fears and doubts which they have managed to conceal for the time being. However, we are sure that some strong, active or "farsighted" ones among them will take this opportunity to do various types of liaison and organizational work. In the beginning, of course, these activities will be sporadic isolated and without distinct goals. (Some of these activities may be purely for the purpose of revenge against certain individuals.) However, when these people become more experienced and have wider contacts, their ideological level and skill for action will be gradually raised. As long as these activities continue, there will certainly be capable leaders emerging out of somewhere to combine these sporadic and isolated organizations to form larger groups which will be better organized and have more distinct and loftier goals. In fact, society in China now is providing favorable conditions for the existence and activities of these groups. The weakening of political control makes it easier for them to preserve their vitality by spreading over wider areas, while the present economic policies enable them not only to raise operating funds but also to undertake illegal political activities behind the shield of legitimate economic activities. Furthermore, social unrest will give them the opportunity to win over the broad masses and to create incidents.

Some of these people have already mingled with the high-ranking cadres' sons and brothers engaged in revolutionary activities or with those overseas anti-Communist revolutionaries (mostly the "class enemies'" sons and brothers or those pathbreakers of the Cultural Revolution who have escaped to foreign lands.) They will gain strong spiritual, economical and even organizational support.

The "revolutionary" sons and brothers of high-ranking cadres will always be in leading positions, at least in the initial stage of the "revolution." To win over the masses and to swell their ranks, they will form alliances with the "revolutionary groups" and the democratic reform groups. If we look at the situation more closely, we will see that the threat to Communist China is more serious from these sons and brothers of high-ranking cadres and the offspring of class enemies than from the pure democratic reformists.

Communist China seems to have tasted the bitter fruit of class struggle. Now, it is in a dilemma: If it relaxes its control, these people will make trouble and wreck vengeance; if it tightens its control (which, however, is almost

impossible under the present conditions), it will stir up more incidents which will be more serious and more sudden.

A third cause of political pressure on Communist China is that in recent years, Communist China has sent a large number of government-financed or self-supported students and scholars for study or advanced studies in various foreign countries, mostly capitalist countries, and the vast majority of students have gone to the United States. We can be sure that none of them can be immune from the political, economic and cultural influences of their host countries and that some of them may have even been brought over by foreign governments or the Kuomintang and are serving as their informants or special agents (though their number may be small.)

Furthermore, their background is quite special: Some of them are the sons and brothers, relatives or friends of high-ranking cadres; others are top-notch intellectuals. Although most of them have left their country for experience and intellectual pursuit, it cannot be denied that some of them have come out for investigations and liaisons with political goals in mind. Upon their return to China (of course, it will have wide political repercussion at home if they become turncoats abroad), they will certainly give rise to the following problems:

First, they will bring back to China whatever influences they have received, and these influences will continue to be felt by them in work and daily life as well as by others around them. Ideologically, the majority of these people are half-inclined or sympathetic to democratic reform and may become the supporters or the leaders of reform movements. Second, these people who originally bore a special social stamp will feel more superior after their advanced studies abroad. Whatever they say or do consciously or unconsciously may be offensive to others. Above all, there will be some difference in the way of thinking, and this difference may easily lead to conflicts or even antagonism among colleagues and friends resulting in mutual exclusion. Eventually, those who have been overseas will be the losers, since they are in the minority and less powerful.

These conflicts, resembling a power struggle, will increase political instability and at the same time force the returned students to create an ideology that is antagonistic to the regime. When the situation develops to such an extent, the strength of these returned students will soon be revealed. Under such circumstances, they will form unions across unit and departmental boundaries (since they will most probably be in the minority in their own units.) Their total number by that time may be only 10,000-20,000; however, since they will be concentrated in the large cities, they can make quite a show of strength.

Aside from the students sent abroad by Communist China, the young students of Hong Kong and Macao may also exert pressure on Communist China in a certain way. Hong Kong and Macao are geographically close to Mainland China. Now that China has opened its door, many energetic youths, tired of being cooped up in a small island, have visited their motherland. Their ideas and actions will certainly produce great influence among youth in China. (Because

of the striking difference in their material lives, most Chinese youths may tend to worship foreign things.) Furthermore, in visiting China, the youths of Hong Kong and Macao may be motivated first by their patriotism and second by their worry over their future after 1997. Like those deploring the failure to turn iron into steel, most of them are anxiously hoping for early improvement in the political situation and may, wittingly or unwittingly, become supporters of political reform. Many of them have even joined the ranks of the democratic reformists in China.

The fourth cause of political pressure is the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution.

The so-called aftermath of the Cultural Revolution includes the following three aspects:

1. Many factions and cliques formed during the Cultural Revolution have not yet been disbanded or completely disbanded. As soon as there is any change in the political climate, these factions and cliques will be itching for action.
2. A large number of rebel leaders were trained during the Cultural Revolution. These people have tasted the sweetness of rebellion and mastered the required techniques. Now they are certainly unhappy with their suppression by the new power holders, and their desire to see another "Cultural Revolution" at the opportune moment is not hard to understand.
3. Many weapons were left in the hands of civilians during the Cultural Revolution. Although the authorities have made every effort to deal with these privately hidden weapons and issued special directive to that effect, many weapons in civilian hands have not yet been turned over to the authorities. As soon as there is any change in the situation, these weapons will obviously be the source of a serious threat.

Finally (and this is the fifth to be discussed here,) a cause of political pressure on Communist China is the activities of special agents belonging to Kuomintang and certain foreign countries. In fact, Communist China has never denied the existence of special agents despite its high vigilance. Now that the controlling power of the authorities has been greatly weakened, the political, economic and social lives in various places are in disorder and the national door is wide open to permit the entry and exit of any person, these special agents can directly work on the cadres, corrupt them or buy them over by offering material benefits. Sometimes, these cadres may not be aware that they have already been used by the enemy. Certainly, there are many who are willing to be used or are aware of being used. At the same time, the special agents may also look for suitable personages to work on. Their activities may be for no other purpose than to collect information, to organize various anti-Communist cliques, to carry out anti-Communist propaganda and to engage in subversive activities in various ways. All these activities will certainly have considerable effects on a political situation which is already very unstable.

CURRENT CPC RECTIFICATION DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 80, Jun 84 pp 62-64

[Article by Lu Jiren [7627 4949 0086]: "Current Party Rectification Viewed in Context of Past Rectifications"]

[Text] One of Deng Xiaoping's Major Political Achievements

Some people have called the current party rectification movement in Communist China "Deng Xiaoping's last battle." There is nothing wrong with this statement, although it should be added that this rectification is also "Deng Xiaoping's most glorious battle." The so-called glory here has two implications: first, it implies positional glory and, second, political glory. Positional glory refers to Deng Xiaoping's supreme position, since throughout CPC's history, only two leaders have been able to launch party rectification movements in accordance with their personal will. The first was Mao Zedong and the second, Deng Xiaoping. Such positional glory can be shared only by those two men. "Political glory" refers to the profound and great glory for Deng Xiaoping who, with the courage and stamina of an enlightened politician, has unequivocally declared war on and broken away politically, ideologically and organizationally from the ultraleftist line pushed by Mao and the CPC over a long period and then shifted the CPC's political line on to a firm, stable and permanently healthy road. If this rectification is successful, history will prove it to be a great event in Deng Xiaoping's political life.

However, the present is different from the past. This time, Deng Xiaoping's party rectification is far more difficult than Mao's in the past, and there is even the danger that it may come to a halt half way. The causes are many and complex, but one of the important ones is that the political legacy from Mao in party rectifications of the past has become a tremendous obstacle to Deng Xiaoping's undertaking. The specter of a dead man has set up a "spooky maze" in which a "living person" may lose his bearing. This is an important feature of a real Chinese society and the CPC. Therefore, it is quite necessary to study Deng Xiaoping's party rectification at present in conjunction with Mao's in the past.



## Basic Conditions in Past Party Rectifications

Since the CPC's party principles were directly inherited from the CPSU and are therefore different from those of the political parties with loose ideological and political bonds in the European and American democratic countries, its article of faith and elaborate setup have a strong dictatorial overtone. This accounts for the extensive and frequent intraparty struggles. Broadly speaking, there are struggles arising out of differences on ideological and policy issues, struggles over political leadership, struggles between different organizational systems, factional disputes over personnel matters, personal feuds from human selfishness and so forth. Such internal struggles have constantly occurred in the CPC, although, normally, they would not take such an important form as party rectification. Such rectification can take place only under given conditions: first, the impending arrival of some critical historic moment, and, second, the reshuffle of leadership at the top level and a drastic change in ideology and policies, leaving not enough time for the organizations at the lower levels to make corresponding adjustments or changes. If the prevailing atmosphere created by the daily intraparty struggles is also taken into account, then party rectification will be inevitable.

The CPC under Mao, strictly speaking, underwent two rectifications. The first was the "Yanan rectification movement" in the early 1940's, and the second was the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" which lasted from the 1960's to the 1970's. There were several significant internal struggles at the top level in the CPC before the Zunyi Conference in 1935. However, because of the extremely adverse environments of fighting and the frequent disruptions of the CPC's organizational structure as well as the direct and effective control over the CPC by the Communist International headed by Moscow, the CPC was unable to solve its problems through party rectification. Mao rose to an eminent position after the Zunyi Conference, but his power was only limited to military affairs. The party power was mostly in the hands of the Wang Ming [2769 2494] clique, and even Mao's military power was seriously challenged by Zhang Guotao [1728 0949 3714] and some others. Above all, the CPC was on the Long March, and the first concern of the Mao and the party was to break through the encirclement. Therefore, Mao had no time to attend to intraparty struggles and could not act as he pleased.

In the Yanan period, Zhang Guotao, Mao's archrival for military power, had already gone over to the Kuomintang's side, leaving Mao as the undisputed holder of military power. His position was stronger than ever. Conditions were then favorable for him to win party power and later to launch the first party rectification in accordance with his personal will. This was how the "Yanan rectification movement" occurred.

From the founding of Communist China to the "Cultural Revolution," two major power struggles occurred at the top level in the CPC. The first was the so-called "smashing of the Gao-Rao antiparty clique," and the second, the so-called "smashing of Peng Dehuai's antiparty clique." Why were these struggles not closely followed by party rectification movements? The reason



is that the so-called "Gao-Rao antiparty clique" only represented certain local forces which challenged the central authorities. Mao was then at the zenith of his power and enjoyed the strong support of many senior party members. There was no marked difference over the political line or ideological and policy issues; therefore, party rectification was unnecessary. The case of "Peng Dehuai's antiparty clique," however, involved a serious struggle over the political line as well as ideological and policy issues. Peng Dehai was then holding an important post at the top level and many people in the party were sympathetic to his views. Since Mao's ultraleftist line had practically torn the state apart and aroused widespread discontent, the party was beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Therefore, Mao had to take great risks in a political gamble to oust Peng Dehuai. Since then, Mao's vitality had been sapped, and he had to retire to the second-line action. For a while, he dared not act as he pleased and had to join Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping and others in tackling the chaotic national economy. Much against his own will, he had to witness the correction of his erroneous line by others. Under such circumstances, Mao did not launch any party rectification not because he did not want to but because he simply was powerless to do it.

From this, we can see that party rectification is by no means a simple matter. In the era of Mao, it must proceed in accordance with the aspiration of Mao and his faction for power and depend on the result of the implementation of his line. At the same time, it would be subjected to the strong restraining forces of other factions in the party and the overall situation.

Now, let us concretely analyze Mao's two party rectification movements.

#### Mao's first Party Rectification -- the Yanan Rectification

The Yanan rectification was Mao's first party rectification and the first of its kind in CPC history. Its purpose was twofold: first, to confirm Mao's leading position in the party and the army along with the elimination of the organizational power of Wang Ming's clique, and, second, to establish the supremacy of Mao's political and ideological lines.

At first, the CPC was entirely controlled by Moscow's "Third International" and functioned as one of its branches. Despite the several changes in the CPC leadership during this period (such as the replacement of Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] by Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101] and then by Li Lisan [2621 4539 0005], Wang Ming and others in that order), all the leaders had to take orders directly from the Third International, while Wang Ming, Bo Gu [0590 0657] and several others were intricately linked to it. The directions given by the Third International were based mostly on the global strategy and self-interest of the CPSU which had little knowledge of the realities of the Chinese revolution. This was the cause of the repeated setbacks to the CPC's revolution.

Mao's faction in the CPC rose to power against a different background. His revolution had all the typical Chinese characteristics and his faction had

no tie whatsoever with the Third International. His revolutionary strategem was the same as those used in peasants' uprisings in Chinese history and his military art was learned from Sun Zi. Facts have proved the effectiveness of the revolutionary strategem and military art rooted in Chinese soil. That was why when Wang Ming's Third International faction was leading the CPC to the brink of disaster, Mao was able to save the CPC with his effective revolutionary strategem and military art. This was how he won his prestige and took over Wang Ming's power.

However, the issue became more complicated when there was a power struggle and prolonged differences over the political and ideological lines throughout the party. Mao was well aware that although his revolutionary strategem and military art could bring brilliant victories when Jingjiangshan in Jiangxi was used as the revolutionary base, he would still be defeated in the power struggle and that his political and ideological lines would not be accepted by the whole party. To change this situation, therefore, it was necessary to purge the party and to conduct intensive propaganda and educational activities. In other words, he must carry out party rectification, and history would provide the opportunity and required conditions at the precise moment.

At that time, the CPC set up its new base at Yanan and enjoyed a relatively stable environment. The War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression led to the second period of cooperation between Kuomintang and the CPC, and the military pressure on the CPC was greatly reduced. The whole world situation also underwent a profound change, and the Third International's control over the communist parties in various countries had virtually ended. Wang Ming's faction in the CPC thus lost its strongest political support, and Mao was able to act boldly.

Mao used two trump cards: first, the rectification of ideological style, and, second, the rectification of organizational style.

In the rectification of ideological style, Mao strongly repudiated such tendencies as subjectivism, book worship, divorce of theory from practice, indiscriminate "quoting from Greek classics" and stereotyped party writing. This repudiation was directly aimed at the political and ideological lines of leftist putschism pushed by the Wang Ming clique. In the course of this repudiation, Mao also conducted an extensive propaganda and education program throughout the party for the whole set of his strategic principles, military art and political analysis of the Chinese society and imposed on the party what he considered to be the only correct and complete orthodox Marxist-Leninist ideological line. By this means, the foundation was laid and the obstacles removed for the dominant position of "Mao Zedong Thought" to be set up in the subsequent "Seventh Congress." This move had extremely profound historical repercussions. Facts have shown that it established the supremacy of Mao Zedong Thought in such a way that the CPC had to pay a tremendous price for its subsequent development.

In the rectification of organizational style, Mao strongly repudiated the so-called sectionalism and mountain stronghold mentality and launched a grim political inquest, in which a huge number of cadres who belonged to the Wang Ming clique and had differences with Mao were purged. This purge quickly expanded. The writer [of this article] one had a talk with a cadre of the older generation and asked about his fear and suffering during the "Cultural Revolution." He said: "I had already witnessed the Yanan rectification, so the suffering in the Cultural Revolution did not amount to much." From this, we can see how ruthless and wanton the Yanan rectification was.

It was through such a wanton organizational rectification that Mao succeeded in eliminating his opponents in the party. His personal power then rose to an unprecedented height.

#### Mao's Second Party Rectification -- the Cultural Revolution

Mao launched the second party rectification in CPC history during the unprecedented "Cultural Revolution." Compared with the first one, this rectification was carried out against a different background and in a different form. In the background, the CPC had already become the party in power, while Mao was gradually losing his power and degenerating from a revolutionary leader to a feudal monarch. The form of rectification was also different. Turning his back on the vast majority of political bureau members and resorting to intrigues, he relied on an unruly mass movement, whipped "from below upward," to smash the entire party apparatus and then reorganized it in accordance with his own will. The illegality of this rectification has been fully revealed.

Despite the vast difference in background and form, these two rectifications had one common objective -- the unique eminence of Mao and his political and ideological line to be won with an iron fist.

The CPC won its nationwide political power in 1949 and set up a gigantic and elaborate bureaucratic structure in the form of centralized power. This structure gradually became the ruling power over all sections of the society. Thus the party meant an integral state apparatus, and the so-called "party leadership" meant the function of the state apparatus. The party then played an all-inclusive role, and all political, economic, scientific and technological, cultural, educational, military and foreign affairs were controlled by the party. In the course of exercising this "overall leadership," many power groups of different backgrounds and specialties would naturally emerge, resulting in the redistribution of power and changes in personal relationships. It was under such conditions that Mao's power was gradually weakened. In fact, Mao was only proficient in the political and military fields but totally incompetent in the economy, science and technology, culture, education and diplomacy. His arrogance, voluntarism, fantasies in agrarian socialism and fanaticism in human-wave warfare were fully exposed in the "Great Leap Forward" which was both unscientific and against economic laws. Mao's ineptitude for national construction was

exposed, and he began to lose his popularity. In 1959-1965, his decline was a foregone conclusion.

However, Mao was blinded by his own mental state as a feudal monarch, his fanatical craze for power and his leftist ideological line and could not remain inactive. To help regain his lost power, what he needed was intrigue, political trickery and an opportunity.

A historic opportunity finally arrived. The chaotic national economy took a complete turn for the better in 1965 after several years of readjustment and recovery, and the pressure on Mao was much reduced. Politically, his idea of class struggle was played up by the propaganda of his so-called repudiation of Soviet "revisionism" and the campaign to learn from Lei Feng [7191 0023], and blind loyalty to Mao, bordering on religious fanaticism, was prevalent throughout the country. These were precisely the favorable historic conditions and opportunity for Mao to purge his political opponents. However, he had to face strong opponents who could not be compared to Wang Ming and the others of the past. Therefore, in an effort to regain his lost power and to push his line, Mao had to resort to intrigues in the name of a "mass movement" for the so-called "prevention of capitalist restoration" instead of a party rectification.

Since the illegality of the "Cultural Revolution" is familiar to everyone, let us now turn our attention to party rectification in the "Cultural Revolution" and see how the "party" was "rectified" out of existence by Mao.

The entire organizational system of the CPC crashed under the blows of the "Red Guard movement" and the various mass organizations at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. The leading cadres of the party organs at various levels were attacked for their crime of being "power holders taking the capitalist road," while the broad masses of party members temporarily lost their political status as such and had to join the mass organizations in the capacity of "rebels." From 1967 to the convention of the "Ninth Congress" in 1969, thanks to the careful planning of the "Central Cultural Revolution Group" with Mao's backing, a nationwide struggle for the "seizure of power" took place and numerous large and small "revolutionary committees" were formed. It was through such a process that the CPC began its party rectification with very queer methods. The action taken on leading cadres was called "liberation of the revolutionary leading cadres"; for ordinary party members, it was called "recovery of party life"; and using the so-called "mass line" for party rectification was called "rectification with open door." Whether a leading party cadre could be "liberated" and whether an ordinary party member could "recover his party life" would be determined through assessment by the nonparty people, and the most important political criterion for the assessment was whether the persons concerned could "closely follow Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and relentlessly criticize Liu Shaoqi's revisionist line." This was called "lining up once again." In such a

highly oppressive and horrible political atmosphere, most party cadres consciously or unconsciously "choose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line." Thus Mao's ultraleftist line, with its unparalleled authority, played a dominant role beyond all doubts, and Mao's personal power also reached a point which was both unprecedented and unrepeatable.

#### The Most Difficult Problem in Party Rectification -- Political Alienation

We have so far briefly reviewed the two party rectifications under Mao's rule. From these rectifications, we can see what kind of political legacy has been left behind by this "venerable gentleman." This legacy is in fact a heap of trash and a negation of Mao in the political sense. This is quite true, and the desperate resistance from the ultraleftist forces in the current party rectification is only a logical conclusion!

However, this is still not the most difficult problem in this party rectification. If the CPC and the Chinese people still possess the same vigorous revolutionary spirit and revolutionary fervor as they did before, they can certainly succeed in wiping out the pernicious leftist influence. Unfortunately, this revolutionary spirit and fervor has been greatly diminished and is fast disappearing. Therefore, the most difficult problem now faced by the CPC is the political laxity and centrifugal political forces in and outside the party. This is the most dreadful thing. Chinese society is no longer like a volcano or an avalanche; it has become a stagnant pool or a patch of loose sand. Any splendid program of action will be quietly buried here....

One of the important causes of this deplorable, sickening and heartrending situation is the political "alienation" brought about by the incessant political movements (including the party rectifications) launched by Mao over the years. Having been deceived and fooled with the ruin of their families and the deaths of their beloved ones as the result, people are now tired of politics, intraparty struggles and line struggles and are antipathetic to party rectifications.

However, if the current party rectification becomes abortive, the ultraleftist forces may quite possibly make their comeback at the opportune moment with grave consequences to China once again. By that time, those who are now passive and antipathetic will eat their bitter fruit!

Now where can we find the panacea? This is a serious challenge to the CPC and the Chinese people.

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